JAMES SCURRY.

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THE

CAPTIVITY,

SUFFERINGS, AND ESCAPE,

OF

JAMES SCURRY,

WHO WAS

DETAINED A PRISONER DURING TEN YEARS,

IN THE DOMINIONS OF

HYDER ALI AND TIPPOO SAIB.

Written by Himself.

"No flowery words adorn this artless tale,
Here simple truth alone is to be found."

LONDON:

HENRY FISHER, 38, NEWGATE-STREET.

1824.

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PREFACE.

HYDER ALI CAWN, and his son Tippoo Saib, have long been distinguished, and not less detested, throughout every part of the civilized world, for the cruelties which they practised on their prisoners of war, during their dominion in India. Of their unexampled barbarities, many accounts have been published in England; and the enormities which these narratives record would have staggered credulity itself, had not the few mutilated wretches who have escaped their tyranny, furnished evidence by their appearance, that a faithful detail of facts could leave but little room for exaggeration.

In addition to those tales of horror which have been submitted to the public eye, there are others, equally affecting, on which no written register has ever conferred its honours. These, while the unhappy victims whose sufferings they record were alive, obtained for a season a local circulation; but no sooner had they found a refuge in the grave, than these tales began to fade in the recollection of tradition, and gradually to retire into oblivion, where they also have found repose. To some few a more protracted existence has been allotted. One of these has just fallen into the publisher's hands; and he conceives he shall promote the cause of humanity by giving publicity to the unvarnished narrative. It was written by JAMES SCURRY, lately

deceased, who actually endured the cruelties which he describes.

In some prefatory papers connected with the history of his sufferings, Mr. SCURRY observes, that the following account was partly written during his passage from India to this country, and partly after his return to the arms of an affectionate mother, who had long thought him dead. He also states, that his narrative might be considerably enlarged, were he to delineate the various scenes he has been called to witness; but having some doubts as to the exact period of their occurrence, and the circumstances connected with them, he has omitted the relation altogether, that nothing might furnish an occasion to impeach his veracity. Respecting the geography and natural history of the country in which he was detained a prisoner, he adds, that he had no opportunity of making sufficient observations; and to give an accurate account of the manners and customs of the inhabitants, would require talents to which he lays no claim, and a period of time that would include nearly the life of man. In apologizing for any inaccuracies or inelegancies that may appear in his language, the author justly observes, that from about the age of fifteen to twenty-five, being detained a prisoner, he was cut off from all means of improvement; and having but little hope of ever revisiting his native land, he had no inducement to make the attempt,

if the means had been placed within his reach. Indeed, such was the malignant vigilance with which all the prisoners were watched, that had he been detected in committing any thing to writing, the discovery would most probably have cost him his life.

For the particulars which follow, respecting the narrator's early life and family connexions, the publisher is indebted to his widow and son, who reside in London. From the same source he has also obtained those concluding branches of Mr. SCURRY's history, which trace him from his return to England to his death, which took place in 1822.

JAMES SCURRY, the author and subject of the following memoir, was born in Devonshire, of which county his more immediate ancestors were natives. His father in early life entered into the marine service, in which situation he spent nearly all his days. During his career, he was engaged in many arduous enterprises, and was always noted for his valour. He was at the battle of Bunker's Hill, in America, where he was exposed to unexampled danger. On one occasion, being sent out on a foraging party with seventeen others, they were attacked by about four hundred Americans. A dreadful conflict ensued, in which sixteen of their little party fell. Only he and another survived, and they were taken prisoners. On being liberated, he again returned to the service, and, in conse-

quence of his heroism, was promoted to the office of paymaster-sergeant. Towards the close of life he became an inmate of Greenwich Hospital, where he died, leaving a widow and two children, one of whom was the subject of this narrative, and whose awful captivity being known, is supposed to have shortened his days. The other, a daughter, was married to a Mr. Dannan, then in the excise, but since a port-gauger at Exeter, with whom the hardy veteran's widow died, about thirteen years since.

It appears that at a very early period JAMES SCURRY went to sea. His widow and son think he could not have been much above seven years old, when he entered on his first voyage. He was a considerable time on the coast of America, and in the West Indies; was employed to carry powder during the time of action; and he amused the sailors with playing the fife when they were disengaged. How, or in what manner, he obtained a knowledge of reading and writing, they do not know, nor are they particularly acquainted with the transactions of his early days. Having given this brief introductory statement, the Editor now proceeds to the author's own affecting narrative.

*** In several places throughout the following pages, where the word "Patam" occurs, it is used for Seringapatam.

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CHAP. I.

Sails in the Hannibal—Visits St. Helena—Returns to England with the East India Fleet—Revisits St. Helena—Cruise off the Cape of Good Hope—Much alarmed—Take two Prizes—Ordered to India with Despatches—Violent Storm—Captured by the French—Treated with Inhumanity—Actions between the English and French Fleets—Attempts an Escape—Perilous Situation—Pursued—Retaken—Threatened with Death—Gagged—Kept in Irons—Landed at Cudalore—Given up to Hyder Ali.

IN the year 1780, when a boy about 14 years of age, being a native of Devonshire, I sailed from Plymouth Sound in his Majesty's ship Hannibal, of 50 guns, commanded by Alexander Christie, as convoy to the outward-bound East India fleet; and, on our arrival

in a certain latitude, our orders were to separate; the fleet steering for their different destinations, and the Hannibal for St. Helena, at which port we were to wait, to convoy back the homeward-bound East India ships. In this island we lay about three months, during which period we were joined by his Majesty's ship Prothée (formerly French) of 64 guns, which ship was also to accompany the homeward-bound fleet. After an anxious expectation of many weeks, their arrival was announced by signals from the hill, stating their number to be fourteen sail; comprising eleven Indiamen, and three sail of the line. This was a great satisfaction to us, as we well knew we should shortly proceed for England. The next morning they came to an anchor in St. Helena Bay, when we found them to be a very

valuable fleet, under the command of Commodore Gardiner, of the Belleisle 64; the other two ships of the line were, the Asia of 64, and the Rippon of 60 guns. Some days elapsed in preparations for our return to England, such as watering, &c. &c. when our Commodore's signal was hoisted for weighing, which duty was executed with cheerfulness and alacrity, and particularly so by the crews of the Belleisle, Asia, and Rippon, which had been in India a long time, and consequently they were very intent on seeing Old England once again.

Our voyage was pleasant, until we arrived in the chops of the channel, where our Commodore received intelligence that a very strong French fleet were cruising for the purpose of intercepting us. On obtaining this news, we

bore away for the west of Ireland, and fortunately escaped them. Our fleet came to an anchor in Creak-haven, whence our commodore sent off his despatches for Government; and after lying here about ten days, we received orders to unmoor and steer for England, where we all safely arrived, after a very pleasant passage, without sustaining any damage. The Indiamen left the Downs for the Thames, and the men-of-war for their different ports, as per orders. Our ship steered for Portsmouth, from whence, after two months' refitting, we were ordered to convoy the outward-bound fleet to the same latitude, and then proceed to St. Helena as before, there to wait the arrival of the homeward-bound fleet, in order to take them under our protection as soon as they arrived. We had a tolerable passage

out, and left the Indiamen in the same latitude as on the previous voyage, shaping our course for the island, where we safely came to an anchor.

The fleets from India were not expected for some time; and after inspecting our rigging, taking in water, &c. our captain, to fill up the intermediate space, resolved to cruise off the Cape of Good Hope for a few weeks. We had not been but a very few hours in sight of the Table Land, before our man at the mast-head descried a fleet consisting of eight sail, apparently large ships, right in our wake; this was a cause of some little alarm, particularly as we had a large reef of rocks ahead, which we could not weather. We were assured of their being enemies, and supposed them to be ships of the line, standing towards us with all the sail

they could crowd. We were close hauled, and, as I observed before, could not weather the reef of rocks ahead. What could be done, my good reader, in this crisis? Our captain consulted his officers, and the result was, to tack and stand toward them; in fact, we had no other alternative, for we were upon a lee-shore, and the extreme point of the rocks was bearing upon our weather bow.

Our crew were called aft, and informed of the situation of the ship; but it is a well-known truth, that whatever the danger may be, English seamen are always ready, yes, and proud, to run any risk, or face any kind of danger, for good officers; to say nothing of their innate courage, of which they have given proofs to the world. About we went, in order to run the gauntlet, as

it is commonly phrased, for we were convinced to a man they were all ships of war. As we were now head to head, we neared each other very fast, and in the course of an hour or two, to our no small surprise, we perceived them tack, and stand from us; this was by no means an unpleasant sight, but the cause of a rapid transition in our view; for, prior to this, we were thinking that many (if we should have the good fortune ultimately to escape) must have fallen; but now, the prevailing idea was, prizes and prize-money. At this time our ship sailed remarkably well; consequently, we neared them fast, and soon made them out to be six stout merchantmen, under convoy of two frigates, which we were positive were no match for us, having as brave a crew as ever went to sea. The two frigates

hove their main-top-sails to the mast, in order to receive us between them, which corresponded with our intentions. We were now within gunshot, with a large French ensign and pennant flying, and our lower deck ports close. Had we continued this a while, the two frigates must have been ours; but our captain ordered our lower-deck ports to be hauled up, the French ensign and pennant to be struck, and the English hoisted, which was done in an instant; but no sooner done, than the French frigate Bellona was under a press of sail. This frigate could, without much difficulty, have been taken by us; she had money to a very large amount on board, for the troops at the Mauritius; it was the same frigate that did so much mischief to our trade in the East Indies, afterwards; but profit

and honour are often at variance. The other we captured, together with a valuable merchantman richly laden; they were all bound to the Mauritius, or Isle de France. This frigate struck immediately on the first shot being fired, but, to the disgrace of the French captain, he ordered his weather land-yards to be cut away, when all her masts went overboard. She had nine chests of money, with other valuables, among which was a handle of a sword valued at £5000, designed as a present from the king of France to his black majesty Hyder Ali Cawn: these treasures we took on board our own ship.

With our two prizes we bore away, and arrived safely with them at St. Helena, where we learnt that a sanguinary affair had taken place at St. Jago, between Commodore Johnson

and Count de Suffrein; each chief had the command of five sail of the line, but the latter had the advantage in point of heavy ships. Commodore Johnson, not looking for an attack from any quarter, did not, perhaps, take that precaution he otherwise would have taken; two or three of his best ships being inside of several of the Indiamen. In this situation, the French Admiral came upon him unexpectedly, and made a desperate effort to destroy the fleet. The effect of this affair was, the capture of one of our Indiamen, (which was afterwards recaptured,) and the dismasting of the French ship Hannibal of 80 guns. It was very strongly reported at the time, that if one of our captains had done his duty, she must have been taken. After this sharp and well-contested conflict on both sides,

the French steered direct for the East Indies, and the commodore took another route. On leaving St. Jago, he directed his course to the Cape of Good Hope, where he gained intelligence of a valuable fleet of Dutch East Indiamen, homeward-bound, lying in Soldanah Bay: thither he repaired, and was not long in taking and destroying the whole. Shortly after this, he arrived at St. Helena with five valuable prizes; several of our ships had also arrived, and we only waited for one more, which was hourly expected, to weigh for England; but, to our no small surprise and mortification, we were very unexpectedly and precipitately ordered off to the East Indies with despatches to Admiral Hughes, and to reinforce his fleet.

The beginning of December, 1781,

we got under weigh, and sailed, with as favourable a breeze as ever blew from the heavens for the space of a month, when we were overtaken by a gale, which nearly terminated our voyage and existence together: the heaviest sea I ever saw, struck us on our beam; the long-boat in the waist, and our barge on the booms, were stove to pieces; two feet of water at the same time were rolling on our lower deck, so that both officers and men were seized with consternation. But not to dwell on a subject, which many must have experienced whose business leads them to sea, I shall pass it by, observing, that Providence, whom both the winds and the seas obey, was better to us than our fears; the storm ceased, the waves subsided, and we proceeded on our voyage.

According to our calculations, we were within five days' sail of Madras, when we discovered a large fleet of ships, which, by signal, we soon found to be enemies. We ran for it, they chasing us with their fleetest vessels; but by trimming, wetting our sails, and favoured by the approach of night, we fortunately got clear of them. This, however, was of short duration, for on the second morning, by supposed bad management, we found ourselves so enveloped as to preclude the possibility of an escape; particularly so, as Le Heros, the French admiral's ship, about two leagues on our lee quarter, brought the breeze with her, while we lay becalmed; and when sufficiently near us, she opened her fire, and continued it until the shot of two more line-of-battle ships, one on our weather quarter, and

the other on our bow, began to tell: resistance was now useless, and our captain very prudently struck his colours. The enemy instantly hoisted out his boats, boarded us, and separated our crew amongst his fleet. I do not know how far it was countenanced by their officers, but although taken in a man-of-war, many of us suffered by theft, which I presume was never tolerated by our officers to their ships of war.

About three months prior to this, the crews of the two prizes we took, which I before mentioned, amounted to more than our crew; and I can positively aver, they were treated with every indulgence: when on board our ship, I felt for their distressed situation, and every day gave one or another of them my allowance of wine, or what else I

could spare of my provisions; but I am sorry to say, we met with very different treatment from them in return. If they are on a par with English seamen in point of personal courage, which I very much doubt, sure I am that they are not in point of humanity.

A circumstance, however, occurred, very much in my favour, which exempted me from the common lot of my fellow prisoners. A captain of the engineers, whose name was Byrus, particularly noticed me, and through his influence I had permission to sleep on the poop, which is no small privilege in that climate, while our seamen were every night counted down into the hold. We were on board their ships during two severe conflicts with our own fleet, commanded by Admiral Hughes. At those times we were all sent into

the hold, but we should not have remained on deck, I presume, had we our choice. Many of us losing our clothes when taken, nothing remained to fill up the crevices of the cables on which our men slept; and I think, that stones would have been preferable to such a bed. From the commencement of each engagement, in some ships, the prisoners were not thought of till twenty-four hours after the termination of the affair; and all this time they were without water. In this situation were many, and the reader may easily judge of our condition; the hatches down, the natural heat of the climate, the darkness and contractedness of the place, together with the smoke of the lower-deck guns descending through the gratings in columns, nearly suffocated several; and such was their extreme thirst,

that several made use of their own water! But in this case the remedy was worse than the disease, for instead of allaying thirst, it excited it more strongly.

The second action was stubborn and bloody; the two fleets fought nearly the whole day; and in this affair they were well matched, the French having twelve sail of the line, and the English eleven; though in the former they had twelve, and we only nine. Night, together with shoal water, put an end to this sanguinary contest; and the fleets being near the island of Ceylon, parted as by mutual consent, and came to an anchor; perhaps apprehensive of greater danger from rocks, &c. &c. The next morning presented both fleets to view, —about four miles and a half distant from each other; here, no doubt, the

minds of all in both fleets were more or less occupied, from admirals to the cabin-boys: here were complicated scenes of distress; masts, yards, carriages, bodies, or trunks of bodies rather, floating in every direction! Our fleet appeared to have had the worst of this severe conflict; two of our line-of-battle ships were nearly dismasted, and one was aground: the French suffered materially in men and rigging, but not in their lower masts. Eight days elapsed in repairing their damages; at the expiration of which time, the enemy was ready, and getting under weigh, stood out, and then tacked, and stood in, offering our fleet battle; but Admiral Hughes, from his recent losses and crippled state, was too wise to accept any overture of the kind; and very prudently lay close, until he had put

his ships* in the best condition he could. The place where this sanguinary battle terminated was Battecalo, but the seamen named it Bloody Bay, which perhaps it will long retain: its distance from Trincomalee, the principal sea-port in the island of Ceylon, is about sixty miles.

After this affair, the French fleet steered for Tranquebar, a Danish settlement on the coast of Coromandel. Here Captain Byrus solicited the French admiral for leave to go on shore on his

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* There is something extraordinary, and which I never could hear accounted for, in this engagement, viz. After the cannons' roar ceased, La Fin, French frigate of 40 guns, got alongside the Isis of 53 guns; where she remained entangled with our ship: the French frigate considered herself taken, and her men were ready with their bags to be prisoners; but so it was, after lying alongside an hour or two, she was disentangled, and got back to her own fleet.

parole, being sorely afflicted with the stone and gravel: he included me in this request, but it was not granted; nor was his own, till after several applications, and a rapid increase of his disorder shamed them at a refusal. He was lowered down the ship's side while I stood on the gunwale; the tears trickled down his manly face, though he strove to hide them, and his eyes spoke parental affection: for my own part, I was truly sorrowful, and felt, and still feel, all that an affectionate son ought to feel for a worthy parent.

I informed my reader, in a preceding page, that I had permission, through this gentleman's influence, to sleep on the poop. I could swim very well, but the ship lay at least two miles from the shore, and I knew I had a heavy surf to contend with, should I reach

it; these were weighty considerations, but I was resolved to try it, and thought it prudent to inform two of our officers, a Mr. Western, who was taken in the Chaser, and another young gentleman, whose name was Covey. They both dissuaded me from any attempt of the kind: but my affection for Captain Byrus, to whom I was conscious, could he have seen me, it would have been a balm in his afflictions,—together with an idea of liberty,—induced me to form a resolution, which is not easily shaken. Accordingly, when night came, I laid myself down on the hencoop as usual, waiting an opportunity of stealing down to the mizzen-chains. In order to accomplish this preparatory step, I conceived it essentially necessary to watch very minutely the quarter-master and sentinel, who were pacing it slowly on

the starboard side. It was done; I found myself in the mizzen-chains, the spot I had been some time watching to gain, but no sooner was it gained, than fear seized me; the darkness of the night, the appearance of the sea, which was very rough, and the distance I had to swim, staggered my resolutions, and I cowardly sneaked back again to my coop with as much caution as I had descended to the chains. Here I lay an hour, revolving what was to be done; hope and fear swayed alternately; I knew the danger was great, and now for the first time the sharks, which infest the whole coast, came into my mind. No language can describe my sensations at this crisis; I had used the most solemn asseverations that I would go that night; and, thought I, what will those young gentlemen think, should

they see me in the morning? This, with the hope of seeing him, whom of all men, next to my father, I most revered, got the better of my fears, and resolution once more resumed her seat. I cautiously gained the mizzen-chains again, and determinately lowered myself into the water by the main sheet. As soon as I was fairly in, I swam under her stern, and instantly dived, going under as far as I could, in order to elude the vigilance of the watch on the poop: the darkness of the night favoured me much, for when I came up, I could scarcely see the ship; and in this case I was well assured they could not see me. I had nothing about me but a silk handkerchief with two rupees, all my treasure, tied up in the corner; this article was very injurious to me, for as I had a side wind to cope

with, it would frequently blow over my face, and cause me to turn my back to the sea till I got it righted again; nor could I by any means untie it, though I often tried. Under those circumstances, I stretched toward the shore; there was a Moor ship about half the distance, which vessel I reached within, I suppose, ten or twelve fathoms, and here I had hopes of resting; but here all my exertions proved fruitless, owing to the handkerchief about my neck. I conclude I must have been under her counter for at least ten minutes; and when I could gain a yard or two the handkerchief would be blown over my face: here I nearly exhausted my strength, without gaining my point, and I was under the necessity of relinquishing the hopes I had entertained of resting, turning my back to

the wind, and treading water in order to recruit my strength.

I was soon astern of this ship, and knew not what to do; in fact, I could do but one thing, and that was, to go the way the wind and tide drove me; I knew there were many vessels inside the French fleet, and as I considered myself in the direction of them, I was not without hope. Twenty minutes, or thereabout, brought me alongside of a large ship; I swam astern of her, keeping as near as I could, where, to my no small consolation, I found a boat: I got hold of the gunwale, and, after resting myself some time, made a sufficient effort to see a man in her stern-sheet, asleep: I called, he awoke, and with the utmost humanity hauled me into the boat. Here, thank kind Providence, I found a resting-place; and

after a while I proposed to this merciful man (for such I found him) to go on board; he immediately hauled the boat under the ship's stern, and with his assistance I got up the ladder, walked to the waist, and sat down on the booms; but I very shortly was saluted with a volley of oaths from the mate, who was apprised of an English boy being in the ship. I was not sixteen years old at this time, but it would avail nothing with this monster in human shape: my naked condition, a dark night, a rough sea, and a coast infested with ferocious sharks, made no impression on this brute, for I cannot give him the appellation of man. I solicited, I entreated, to stay a few minutes longer; but it was unavailable, for he swore if I did not instantly leave the ship he would throw me overboard!

This roused me to a state of desperation; I called him a monster, ran to the gangway, and sprang into the sea. Judge of this wretch, reader, when I inform you he threatened to throw a six-pound shot at me when in the water! I fear the poor merciful man in the boat was punished for his kindness to me; but surely "there is another and a better world!"

Once more I had to contend with the watery element; it still remained dark, and blew fresh. I had taken the precaution of untying my handkerchief in the boat, and tying it round my waist. The ship I had just left was a small Danish East Indiaman, and I knew, by her situation, that there was another about three quarters of a mile in her wake; this thought animated and gave me hopes. I had no great cause

for exertion, the wind and tide being both in my favour. The day was now breaking, and seeing the ship, I swam alongside of her. The men were beginning to wash decks, and on perceiving me they threw out a rope, which I laid hold of; they hauled me about a yard from the water, but not possessing strength enough, I was under the necessity of letting go; they immediately made a running bowline knot, and threw it to me; this I got under my arms, when they drew me, to my great joy, on board. Here I was treated with the utmost tenderness and humanity; but my comforts were transient. After being refreshed with the best they had, I was put into the carpenter's cot: my recent exertions soon helped me to sleep; but a few minutes after I was awoke, and informed that a French

barge was making direct for the ship I was then in, and I soon saw she was from the ship that I swam from, Le Flemand of 50 guns; this to me was alarming indeed. I was hurried down the fore-hold by these humane Danes, and stowed away between the cable and the deck, and I thought all was well, for their search would have been in vain; but the mate betrayed me to the French lieutenant, who desired him to produce me; he learnt where I was, and ordering me on deck, I was obliged to obey. The Danes, I remember, pitied me very much, and inveighed severely against the mate. I was taken to the quarter-deck, and by the French officer ordered into the boat: I had on then a jacket and trowsers, and was stripping myself, to restore them to the merciful man from whom I had them,

but the poor fellow refused them, and the tears gushed from his eyes at the time: here the sweet milk of humanity was visible indeed! I was now peremptorily ordered into the boat, and I have every reason to believe that the crew, had they not been awed by the officer, would have put an end to my existence before I reached the ship; and when we came alongside, I never saw a vessel manned to give another three cheers more numerous; they shouting and exulting as if they had taken a first-rate.

I could not at this time assign any reason for their extravagant conduct; but in the course of the next day I understood, that it was firmly, though erroneously believed, throughout the ship, that I had taken a bundle of letters from the English officers on

board, to Captain Byrus on shore I was handed on the quarter-deck, and surrounded by numbers; the captain, who was at breakfast, being apprised of my arrival, came up: his countenance was at all times terrific, but now particularly so. After some conversation with his officers, I was ordered on the forecastle; when there, I was informed by a Welshman, who belonged to the ship, that I was to be hung at the yard-arm, if I did not immediately confess. Every means of intimidation was made use of; and when they found it ineffectual, I was ordered to the galley, where both my legs were put in irons, my arms tied behind me, and an iron bolt was forced into my mouth in such a savage manner, that the blood ran from both corners. In this situation I remained about three hours,

when they took the gag from my mouth, and untied my arms. Both legs, however, still remained in irons, and in this condition I was kept by these *humane* Frenchmen, with an allowance of rice and water once in twelve hours, and that after their blacks were served, for they had in each ship from forty to fifty to do their dirty and heavy work, until we were all landed at Cuddalore.

But notwithstanding the treatment I received, they were incessantly soliciting me to enter into their service. I was, and ever shall be, at a loss to know, what kind of an acquisition I should have been to them; but so it was: they used every means to induce me; officers would come, day after day, I supposed sent by the captain, with promises and fine words; but it was useless.

One day I was taken out of irons, and conveyed to the captain's cabin; here the Welshman was, who had been sent for by the captain as an interpreter; the captain appeared all affability, and the Welshman was desired to ask me, how I dared swim from his ship? I told him I should dare do it again, if I had an opportunity, and a prospect of success; at this he paused, and looked at me with mild attention: the Welshman was now desired to resume the subject of entering into the French service, with great promises from the captain himself, if I would consent; and to enforce this argument, a Dutch cap full of dollars stood by him: I requested him to tell the captain that I should never think of any thing of the kind, and begged to be troubled no more on that subject.

This closed the conversation, and he with indignation ordered me to my former situation, during which period not an Englishman was permitted to come near me. At length we were all, to the number of 500, taken in the different ships by their fleet, landed, as before observed, at Cuddalore, after being on board their ships six months.

The air and soil were witness to our joy at meeting; but alas! how transient! Our troubles, which we now supposed were drawing to a close, were just commencing! We were shortly escorted and sent to Chillembroom,* one of Hyder Ali's strong forts. Here

* In this fort I have seen whole families, or their carcases rather, lying in different spots; some eight, some ten, according to their number. The few miserable survivors would plunge at one of our carrion bones, though thrown into the middle of excrement.—May my eyes never see the like again!

a dreadful famine raged; and our provisions consisted of bad rice and carrion beef; this, with the saltpetre ground on which we lay, was the cause of the loss of numbers of our men. I have seen many stout fellows taken one hour, and dead the next. Their disorder was the cramp, and, when seized, their distortions were such, that they scarcely retained the shape of human beings.—What cause induced the French admiral to deliver us up to this unprincipled barbarian, we never could discover. We were equally at a loss to conceive, why we were abandoned by the English, when they might have demanded us. I can only attribute it to the deplorable state of British affairs in India during this period.

CHAP. II.

Marched to Chillembroom—Famine in the Place—Punishment of some who attempted to escape—Imprisoned—Put in Irons—Provisions scanty and bad—Conducted to Bangalore—General Treatment—Starvation—Inhuman Conduct—Comic Accident—Prisoners divided into three Parties—Sorrow at Separation—Sent to Burrampour—Imprisoned and in Irons—Nearly starved—Sent again to Bangalore—Marched to Seringapatam—Heads shaved—Treacherous European—Compelled to submit to the Mohammedan Rite—Afflictive Situation—Ablution—Death of Hyder Ali.

We were here about two months, when a circumstance took place, which we then considered very fortunate, but soon to our sorrow found it the reverse. Nineteen of our men, with Lieutenant Wilson of the Yarmouth, effected their escape; they had a few blankets among

them, of which they made ropes; and by this means, availing themselves of a dark night, descended to the ditch over a stupendous stone wall; but they knew nothing of the country, or which way to steer. Nineteen of them were the next day brought in with their arms pinioned; and the other, our boatswain's mate, was drowned in attempting to cross a river. Lieutenant Wilson was stripped, and flogged with tamarind twigs very severely, when they plastered his back over with sugar, and exposed him to the sun, by way of finishing the punishment due to his crime; the men were put in irons. In consequence of this affair, in a day or two after, we were marched to a strong prison, and the whole of us put in heavy leg-irons, with a scanty miserable allowance; and the guards were doubled.

In this situation we remained two months, when an order came from Hyder Ali to march us from thence to Bangalore; in consequence of which, our irons being knocked off, we were coupled two and two in hand-irons. This being done, we were marched out of the fort, not knowing our destination. In this case there was no distinction, except that the officers were kept separate; for all were linked, both officers and men. We had the painful sight of seeing them pass us in irons; a state of degradation which affected many of us, and myself for one. Our first lieutenant and the lieutenant of marines, named Carthew, were brothers; these worthy men were coupled together in a double sense, viz. fraternal affection, and strong bolts of iron. They were, however, released from

bondage in the year 1784, and are, I believe, both still living, one an admiral, and the other a clergyman.

We soon understood that our destination was Bangalore; our march commenced, and a severe one it was: several had no shoes, which was no small misfortune; many being coupled together whose tempers were by no means congenial, was another source of evil, and particularly so after a heavy day's march. It frequently happened that we were kept, though I believe not designedly, without food for many hours after reaching the ground on which we were to sleep; and wo to the poor weary wretch who should attempt to sit down to rest himself, for in this case he would be sure to have the application of the but-end of a musket between his shoulders: in short,

no butcher ever drove oxen with more cruelty than we were driven. In order to prevent a surprise, we were taken by the most unfrequented ways; and one day, in a most dreadful abyss on the margin of the road, we heard the noise, as we supposed, of a rattlesnake, which alarmed us all; but if it was such, it must have been of an enormous size, otherwise it could not have made the noise it did.

A curious circumstance took place at one of our halting spots, which were mostly under trees, and which, though alarming at the time, was very laughable afterwards. Two of our men, about one o'clock in the morning, were preparing their rice coffee, in order to be ready for the morning's march; when taking their cudgeree-pot off the fire, it broke, and scalded one of them,

who gave a terrible roar, which was mistaken for a tiger's by those near him, who were not half awake. This induced them to bawl out,—a tiger! a tiger! which was quickly communicated to the whole, as they were successively roused from their sleep. Our officers, being near us, took the alarm also; and such a scene of confusion ensued, as would require an abler pen than mine to describe. All were intent on personal safety, but all were not of one mind; hence, one hauled this way, and another that, till twenty or thirty pairs came in contact; numbers fell on each other, while some endeavoured to haul their weaker partners up into trees. The guards were running about like madmen, not knowing the cause of this hurly-burly; and I am persuaded to this day, had we not been

ironed, the guards would never have entered our thoughts, and many would have been miles distant in a very short time. Several had the marks of this dragging business, on their wrists, for months afterwards. Smith, our corporal of marines, being the only man out of irons, and who could talk Moorish well, was sent for by the chief of the guard, who, I believe, was as much frightened as ourselves; but when he understood the cause of all this confusion, he was highly pleased, for he was apprehensive of something worse. Many of the guards were at a considerable distance at this time; but the panic gradually subsiding, the tom-toms were sounded, the horns were blown, the guards collected, and we composed ourselves to sleep, wondering at what had happened.

At the expiration of twenty-one days, under many distressing circumstances, we reached Bangalore. Here we were halted, and after three days, the Mohammedan and Brachmin grandees came from the fort, and separated us into three parties. The division I was in was sent to Burrampour, three days' march from Bangalore. I do not recollect ever seeing a day of more sorrow. On parting, the tears flowed copiously from many, and grief was portrayed in almost every countenance. When we reached the place of our destination, prior to entering the prison, our hand-irons were knocked off, and leg-irons substituted. They gave us rice for the first eight or ten days, when they changed it to ragee, the flour of which is nearly as black as coal. This, no doubt, occasioned the death of

numbers of our poor fellows, who died in excruciating agonies, which I think would not have been the case, had they had medical assistance; but they might as well have asked for mountains of gold, as any thing of this nature.

Here we remained three months, at the expiration of which time, being all ordered out to muster, the youngest were selected from the rest, to the number of fifteen, myself one; our irons were knocked off, and we were put for that night in the prison, as usual. This was mysterious to us; we knew not what to make of it. The next morning, we, the fifteen boys selected, were sent off to Bangalore, where we were told we should be taken good care of. We sorrowfully parted from our companions, and, after three days' march, arrived at the spot. Here we

met with more English youths, who had been taken, in like manner, from other prisons, and sent hither also. We were exceedingly glad to see each other, and, of course, mutual inquiries took place as to the cause of our being thus collected; but we were all equally ignorant, and a kind of gloomy pleasure was the result. We now mustered fifty-two boys, the oldest seventeen, and the youngest (a Mr. Randal Cadman, whom I shall have to mention again) twelve. The first of their operations was, searching us for knives, scissars, &c. and such as they found, they very goodnaturedly took from us; they then sent us several legs of mutton, with cudgeree pots, water, salt, &c. but carefully prevented our having any thing to cut it with. Nine of us formed a mess, and boiled one of the legs, which

was our portion; but when ready, we were at a sad loss how to divide it, having been deprived of every instrument necessary for that purpose. After a hungry debate, one, more sagacious than the rest, procured a tile, with which instrument, and our exertions in tearing, we reduced it with much difficulty into three parts; we then formed ourselves into three parties, three in each, and, as we had made three joints of it, each party took one; and after taking it in our hands, and tearing as much as our mouths would contain, we passed it to another, till our turns came again. This was a necessary invention, which the rest were forced to adopt;—could you, my good reader, have done better?

Three days having expired, we were sent for by the killadare, or governor,

who, after viewing us with apparent goodnature, gave us some fruit; which kindness we could not account for, all was mystery still, though we were repeatedly told that we were high in the estimation of Hyder, and considered as his children. On this piece of information, some were thoughtful, and some thoughtless. After a few days had elapsed, we were marched off to Seringapatam, Hyder's capital; but our marches were easy, and our food was abundant. On the ninth day after we left Bangalore, we reached the capital, where we were seated between two gates for nearly three hours, and gazed at by innumerable multitudes, who were passing and repassing through the place, and who had never beheld such a sight before. From thence we were ordered to a tabla, or square,

where they continued their kindness to us; but we were all this time quite ignorant of their base intentions. One month passed over our heads very comfortably, when the guards being increased, we were ordered out to muster. Near us stood a number of hodgams, (barbers,) who had orders to shave our heads. This we positively refused, and they did not use force, as this was only preparatory to something of greater moment.

In the midst of these mysterious kindnesses, an European made his appearance, clad in the Mohammedan dress, with a large red turban, and a formidable pair of mustaches. This man saluted us in a very gentlemanly manner, but we looked on him with suspicion and surprise. He gave us to understand, that he was sent directly

from the killadare, to use his influence with us in having our heads shaved, &c.; he also more than intimated, that if we persisted in a refusal, they would take such steps as would be very disagreeable to us, which no doubt was true enough. He appeared to be our friend, and sincerely advised us quietly to submit; which we did. This being done, they left us to ourselves another week, when, one morning, the same barbers came, with twelve of the most robust men I ever saw; these were some of Hyder's *getiees*, all from Madagascar, kept by him for feats of strength and agility, which I shall, in the sequel, attempt to describe. Their appearance told us plainly that something was going on, although we could not form any opinion of the object which they had in view; but the arrival

of Dempster, the name of the European before alluded to, once more unravelled the mystery. He addressed us in the most endearing, though hypocritical, language, and gave us to understand, that we were to be circumcised, and made Mohammedans of, by the express order of Hyder. We were thunderstruck; but what could be done? He saw our agitation, and playing off his persuasive artillery, his artifice and address had more influence with us than the guards; in short, they forced each of us to take a quantity of majum,* a drug well calculated

* This opiate is made either into liquid or solid, with sugar, from the boang tree, the produce of which they smoke with tobacco; it causes the most astonishing sensations. In the course of a few years we were in the habit of smoking it freely, to drown our troubles; and we well knew its effects.

to stupify the senses and deaden pain; but it had little effect this latter way.

A mat, and a kind of sheet, being provided for each of us, we were ordered to arrange ourselves in two rows, and then lie down on our mats. This being done, the guards, barbers, and those twelve men before-mentioned, came among us, and seizing the youngest, Randal Cadman, a midshipman, they placed him on a cudgeree pot, when four of those stout men held his legs and arms, while the barber performed his office. In this manner they went through the operation, and in two hours the *pious* work was finished, and we were laid on our separate mats; where, with the effects of the majum, some were laughing, and others crying; which, together with the pain, rendered our condition truly curious and ludi-

crous. In the evening they placed several sentinels over us, not for the purpose of guarding us from an escape, this being impossible, for more reasons than one; but to protect us from the bandicuts, a species of the rat kind, as large as young sucking pigs, which they much resembled, and which were very numerous there. We were soon convinced that this was an act of mercy on their parts, as those creatures (lying in our blood as we were) might have done us considerable mischief. In this state we remained two months, when, with the exception of two,* we all got well.

During our illness, or rather sore-

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* One, whose name was James Murrell, died; and the other, from the great quantity of blood he lost, never had any colour in his face afterwards; his name was Alsop.

ness, the clothes we had were taken from us, and coarse habits given us; but we were not, even yet, completely Mohammedanized, and therefore more evils were at hand. Four large coppers were brought into the square, accompanied by facquars or priests, worstards or schoolmasters, and a religious train,—to consummate the business, and make us genuine children of the Prophet. Each copper would, at least, contain one hogshead and a half of water, which was made unusually warm. The reason assigned for this, was, as we understood afterwards, that we had eaten a great quantity of pork in our time, and consequently were very unclean. Here was no small diversion for idle spectators, to see us jump out of the coppers half scalded; the facquars, in the midst of their pray-

ers, suspending their ceremonies, and joining the guards in running after and bringing us back; for, by the time two were taken, they would be in pursuit of two more, who had made their escape from this terrific ordeal. In this we found some advantage; for during our short absence the water naturally cooled, so that we could at length stay in it until the prayers were finished by the priests. This continued three days successively, in conjunction with the confused prayers of the facquars, the threats of the guards, and our own apprehensions at this mode of scalding. These preparations and performances being ended, we were hailed as the children of the Prophet, and the favourites of the Nabob.

Now, exclusively of our mental feelings, we had every good in abundance;

and thus they continued to treat us for three months; but, alas! our troubles had only just begun. About this time, 1783—4, Hyder Ali Cawn died. The more immediate cause of his death was an ulcerated back; and reports were then circulated in the capital, that towards the close of his life, when the ulcer was rapidly spreading, he, by advice, ordered several criminals at different times to be killed, in order to apply their livers to his sore. It is, however, but just to state, that for this I have no other authority than hearsay, though I have no reason to doubt that it might be truth.

We were now formed into a company, but having Dempster for our commander, was no small mortification to us; knowing him to be a base wretch, and a deserter from the Bengal

Artillery. Dempster was a man of considerable abilities, and, as we soon learnt, had been a chaplain to one of the regiments at Gibraltar. This man, with a native named Abdel Gunney, both formerly officers in the Company's service, was at the bottom of all the cruel treatment we received for the period of a year afterwards. We were now, every morning and evening, paraded before the palace in full Mohammedan dress; and this scoundrel would very frequently march us up and down before the English officers' prisons, and particularly before that of the brave but unfortunate Colonel Bailey, of whose end I shall have to speak very shortly.

CHAP. III.

Accession of Tippoo Saib—Compelled to learn Military Exercise—Without Food two Days—Cruel Treatment for complaining—Ears bored, and marked as Slaves—Peace concluded—Left unclaimed by the British—Fate of some English Officers—Defeat and Capture of Colonel Bailey.

About this time, Tippoo Saib, who had succeeded his father, Hyder Ali,* sent an order to the killadare of Seringapatam to incorporate us in his four

* Hyatt Saib was the rightful successor, but Tippoo proved the more powerful. A curious and tragic circumstance took place on his first visit to his father's mausoleum: in his going through the Gangam gate, a bullock's head on one side, and a man's head on the other, were lopped off at one time. The real meaning of this ceremonv we never could learn.

battalions of slaves—which was accordingly done; but we had no doubt it was so done through the malicious insinuations of Dempster, whom, after we knew, we treated with the most sovereign contempt. Here each individual was supplied with a stick of about four feet and a half long, as a substitute for a firelock; and our pay being shortened, we led wretched lives indeed; fabrications being circulated, and groundless complaints made against us, merely from a malignant antipathy. We did not at this time know much of the language; and when questioned relative to these complaints, many got severe beatings;* for our silence was generally construed into guilt.

* A Mr. William Drake, midshipman of the Hannibal, for striking one of the slaves that had struck him, was led to the front of one of the battalions,

Once we were kept without food for two days; and conscious we had done nothing to deserve it, we sallied forth to the durbar, (a seat of justice so called,) in order to exhibit a complaint of our grievances to the killadare; but Abdel Gunney, to whom I have adverted, learning our intentions, was before us, and intimated to the killadare to take care of his person, for that we were coming in a body, and he knew not for what purpose. This alarmed the governor; and we no sooner arrived, than we were surrounded by a battalion of Sepoys, and our inter-

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and there had his hands and feet tied together; this done, they forced his knees between his arms, and then pushed a pole under his hams. In addition to this, three stout men flogged him as long as they had strength. What must have been our feelings at this time? He survived it; and we were surprised, for his body was as black as a coal.

preter, Clark, a lieutenant in the Company's service, who had begun to speak, was knocked down, and beaten in a most shocking manner. While he lay on the ground, they put him in heavy irons, and took him away, nor do I recollect ever seeing him afterwards. All this time we were secured by the Sepoys, who had orders to prime and load, and to fix their bayonets; and all this against fifty-two defenceless boys. Judge of our situation, my good reader, at this crisis! We were seized, and each of us was bound with two new ropes, confining our hands behind us; and, to make us secure, a strong man enclosed our arms, and with his knee almost dislocated our shoulders: many of us had the marks in our arms for some years after. This done, we were wheeled

to the right, then to the left, by the myre, or adjutant, in broken English, who would frequently, in the most contemptuous manner, cry out, "General Mathews,"—"Colonel Bailey,"—"Captain Rumney," and repeat the names of many officers they then had in their custody, of whom I shall very soon give the reader an accurate account.

We were hauled in this degrading manner, until I and several more fainted; when I came to myself, we were all seated on the ground. I was bound between two lads, both midshipmen of the Hannibal, who told me, when I fell they fell, with most of the rest; those who did not, informed us, that so many falling, they were ordered to sit down. The skin of our breasts was like a drum head, and I am conscious to this day, if it had not been for the

humanity of the durga, an officer equal to a sergeant, in slackening the ropes about twelve o'clock at night, very few would have survived till morning. This was done on his part at a great risk: may God reward him for it!

The next day we were ordered to be untied, one by one, and our heads to be again shaved, which was performed; our ears also were bored, and a slave's mark was put in each of them. This being done, we were prohibited from speaking to each other in English, under pain of severe punishment. We were then marched, or led crawling, rather, to our square, where they gave those who could immediately make use of it, some food. Here we met every day, more or less, with severe treatment, until the year 1784, when a peace was concluded between the East India

Company and Tippoo. This was a woful and heart-rending peace for us; but prior to my saying any thing on that head, I shall introduce the condition and fate of many of our brave officers; together with the fate of the unfortunate brachmins, as it fell immediately under my notice. And first, of Colonel Bailey, who was in leg-irons, with Captain Rumney, and Lieutenants Fraser and Sampson. The three latter had their throats cut at Mysore. Colonel Bailey appeared much emaciated; I rather think grief was the cause of destroying his constitution; for when he was insulted by Dempster, who took a pride in marching us before him, we could frequently see the tears trickle down his manly face. He was alone, after the captain and lieutenants were taken from him; but not long, for he

was removed also, and we supposed very secretly, for we never could learn what became of him; and whether he died by poison, or a natural death, we could not positively ascertain; but we could easily believe the former. It may not be amiss here to say something relative to his defeat. The circumstances which led to this melancholy catastrophe are well known, therefore I shall only describe the manner, partly from the Encyclopædia, and partly from information I received at Patam, from several who survived that dreadful day.

In order to do this, it may be necessary to inform the reader, that Hyder Ali, after suddenly seizing the passes, which might have been secured, poured through them an army of 100,000 men, among whom was a large body of European troops under French officers,

and commanded by Colonel Laly, a man of great bravery and experience in war. Alarm being given on the 24th of June, 1780, that Hyder's horse were only nine miles distant from Madras, the inhabitants instantly deserted their houses, and fled into the fort, while the unresisted barbarian burnt the villages, reduced the inferior forts, and prepared to lay siege to the capital. It being now absolutely necessary to make some resistance, measures were taken for assembling the troops; in doing which, an express was sent to Colonel Bailey, at Gumuapenda, about twenty-eight miles from Madras, to proceed from thence directly to Conjeveram with the corps under his command, where the main body was to meet him; but when the main body was under marching orders, the 1st regiment of cavalry positively

refused to move without money; and, as they persisted in their refusal, they were made prisoners, and sent to Madras. The main body, then consisting of 1500 Europeans and 4200 Sepoys, under Sir Hector Monroe, with the train of artillery, proceeded towards Conjeveram; and such were the fatigues of the march, that 200 men belonging to the 73d regiment, were left lying on the road. On their arrival, they found the town in flames, great bodies of the enemy's cavalry advancing on both flanks, and no appearance of Colonel Bailey's detachment; the march of this body having been impeded by a small river, swelled by a sudden fall of rain. On this occasion, the officer who records this disaster, makes the following observation: "In this incident we have a remarkable proof and example of

the danger of procrastination, and on what minute circumstances, and sudden springs of the mind, the fortune and general issue of the war may depend. Had the colonel passed over Trepuscore without halting, as some advised, and encamped on the south instead of the north bank, the disaster that soon followed would have been prevented, and an order of affairs, wholly different from what took place, would have succeeded."

Hyder Ali having now raised the siege of Arcot, in which he had been employed, marched towards Conjeveram, in the vicinity of which he encamped, and in a few days offered battle. On the 6th of September, he detached his son, Tippoo Saib, with the flower of his army, to cut off the detachment under Colonel Bailey, who

was now at Pernambaukham, a small village, distant from the main body about fifteen miles; he himself remain ing near Conjeveram, to watch the motions of Sir Hector Monroe. The detachment of Tippoo consisted of 30,000 horse, 8000 foot, and 12 pieces of cannon: notwithstanding this superiority of numbers, they were bravely repulsed by Colonel Bailey's handful of troops, and a junction was effected with a detachment under Colonel Fletcher, sent by Sir Hector Monroe, on first hearing the noise of the engagement. This junction was effected on the 9th of September, and the next morning orders were given for the whole army to march, Colonel Fletcher's detachment being dispersed in different parts of the line. From the moment they began to march, the enemy played

off their rockets, which, however, did little execution: but about ten at night, several guns began to open on the rear of the English; Colonel Bailey, therefore, after some manœuvres, caused his troops to form a line, while the enemy cannonaded them incessantly with great execution. On this, Colonel Bailey detached Captain Rumney with five companies of grenadier Sepoys, to storm their guns; which service they would undoubtedly have accomplished, had not their march been interrupted by a torrent of water, which at that time happened not to be fordable. Captain Rumney, therefore, returned about half-past eleven, when the guns of the enemy were heard drawing off towards the English front, and a general alarm was perceived throughout their camp, owing, as was supposed,

to their having received intelligence of the party that had been sent to storm their guns; for, from their noisy confusion, and irregular firing, says my author, one would imagine that a detachment of our men was among them with fixed bayonets. At that critical moment, had a party of grenadiers been sent against them, they might, without difficulty, have routed the whole of Tippoo's army. Having, about ten o'clock in the evening, advanced about five hundred yards into an avenue, Colonel Bailey remained there in perfect silence till the morning. Colonel Fletcher being asked why Colonel Bailey halted? modestly replied, that Colonel B. was an officer of established reputation, and, no doubt, had reasons for his conduct. It cannot, however, be concealed, that this halt afforded an

opportunity for Tippoo to draw off his cannon to a strong post, by which the English were obliged to pass; and, at the same time, of informing Hyder of their situation, and suggesting to him the expediency of advancing, for the improvement of so favourable a conjuncture.

On the 10th day of September, at five o'clock in the morning, our little body marched off by the right in subdivisions, having their baggage on the left; and not many minutes after, six guns opened on their rear; on which the line halted. A few minutes after, large bodies of the enemy's cavalry appeared on their flanks; and at the moment the pagoda of Conjeveram appeared in view, and our men had begun to indulge hopes of a respite from toils and dangers, a rocket boy

was taken prisoner, who informed them that Hyder's whole army was marching to the assistance of his son Tippoo. Four guns now opened on the left with great effect; and so hot was the fire they sustained, and so heavy the loss, that Colonel Bailey ordered the line to quit the avenue, and present a front to the enemy; and at the same time detached Captain Rumney with ten companies, to storm the enemy's guns. Within a few minutes after this party had left the line, Tippoo's guns were silenced. Captain R.'s little detachment immediately took possession of four cannon, and completely routed the party that was attached to them. Captain Rumney, overcome with fatigue, ordered Captain Goudie, the next in command, to lead the party, and take possession of more of their guns; but

in a few moments, as they were advancing, a cry was heard among the Sepoys, of, Gora! Gora!—Horse! Horse! The camp followers, whose numbers were nearly five to one of the troops, were driven on part of our line by the numerous and surrounding forces of Hyder Ali, who being informed of the situation of Colonel Bailey, had left his camp without striking his tents, with a view of concealing his march from General Monroe. A great confusion among the troops was the unavoidable consequence of this unexpected onset. The Europeans were suddenly left on the field alone, and at that critical moment a part of Hyder's advanced guard pressed on with great celerity between our line and Captain Rumney's party. The commanding officer, therefore, apprehensive of being cut off from our

little army, judged it most prudent to retreat. Colonel Bailey, when he was informed that an immense body of horse and foot was advancing towards him, and that this was supposed to be Hyder's main army, said, "Very well, we shall be prepared to meet them."

Hyder's whole force now appeared incontestably in view; and this barbarian chief, who, as was observed of the Roman general by Pyrrhus, "had nothing barbarous in his discipline," after dividing his guns agreeably to a preconcerted plan, opened from sixty to seventy pieces of cannon, with innumerable rockets. His numerous cavalry, supported by his infantry, driven on by threats, and encouraged by promises, and led on by his most distinguished officers, bore down upon our little army, without making the least

impression; our men, both Europeans and Sepoys, repeatedly presenting and recovering their arms, as if they had been manœuvring on a parade. The enemy was repulsed at every attack; numbers of their best cavalry were killed, and many more were wounded; even their infantry were forced to give way; and Hyder would have ordered a retreat, had it not been for the advice of General Laly, who informed him it was too late, as General Monroe was most probably advancing from Conjeveram; for which reason, nothing remained but to break the detachment by their artillery and cavalry. Tippoo Saib had by this time collected his party together, and renewed the cannonade; so that at the same time the English were under the necessity of sustaining an attack from both father and son.

Two of their tumbrils were blown up by Hyder's guns, and a large opening was made in both their lines; they had no other ammunition than grape; their guns ceased firing; and in this dreadful situation, under a terrible fire, not only of guns but rockets, losing great numbers of men and officers, they remained from half-past seven till nine o'clock, when Hyder Ali, perceiving that the guns were quite silenced, came with his whole army round their right flank; the cavalry charged them in distinct columns; and, in the intervals, the infantry poured in volleys with dreadful effect.

Myar Saib, Tippoo's brother, with the Mogul and Sanoor cavalry, made the first impression; these were followed by the elephants and the Mysorean cavalry, which completed the over-

throw of the detachment. Colonel Bailey, though grievously wounded, rallied the Europeans, and once more formed them into a square, and, with this handful of men, he gained an eminence, where, without ammunition, and most of his people being wounded, he resisted and repulsed fifteen separate attacks; but fresh bodies of cavalry continually pouring in, they were broken, without giving way.

Captain Lucas's battalion of Sepoys, at the time when our men moved up to a rising ground, was stationed to the right of the European grenadiers; but that corps seeing the Europeans in motion, and perhaps understanding that motion for a retreat, broke in the utmost confusion. The Europeans, however, bravely maintained their reputation for intrepid valour, and remained

in this extremity of distress steady and undaunted, though surrounded by the French troops, and Hyder's cavalry, to the number of 40,000. They even expressed a desire, though their number did not exceed 400, of being led on to charge a battalion of Topasses, (natives, so called from their wearing hats,) who lay about thirty yards distant, and kept up an incessant fire with great effect. Many attempts were made by the enemy's cavalry to break this body of men; but, by their steady conduct and courage, they were repulsed; until Colonel Bailey, finding that there was now no prospect of being relieved by General Monroe, held out a flag of truce to one of the chiefs of Hyder's army: but this was treated with contempt, and the chief endeavoured at the same time to cut off the Colonel.

The reason that the enemy assigned for this, was, that the Sepoys had fired after the signal was hoisted. A few minutes afterwards, the men had orders to lay down their arms, with intimations that quarter would be given: this order was scarcely complied with, when the enemy rushed in upon them with the most savage brutality, sparing no age or condition in life, and, but for the humane interposition of Laly and Pencron, who implored and insisted with the conquerors, to shew mercy, the gallant remains of our little army must have fallen a sacrifice to that savage thirst for blood with which Hyder disgraced his victory. In this unfortunate action, near 700 Europeans were killed on the spot. The loss on Hyder's part was so great, that he industriously concealed it, being en-

raged to think that the conquest of so inconsiderable a body should cost him so many of his bravest troops. He seemed, ever after, to consider the English with an extreme degree of terror; insomuch, that notwithstanding his pretended exultation on account of the present victory, he no sooner heard of Sir H. Monro marching to attack him, than he left his camp in the utmost confusion, abandoning great part of his tents and baggage, as well as a vast number of the wounded.

CHAP. IV.

Behaviour of Tippoo towards his Prisoners—Conduct, Defeat, Treatment, and Death of General Matthews—Fate of the Malabar Christians—Execution of English Prisoners—Exhibitions at Seringapatam—Offenders devoured by Wild Beasts—Modes of Punishment—Despotic Cruelty—Human Ears and Noses exhibited in the Public Market—Author and Companions compelled to take Wives—Mode of Procedure—Marriage Ceremony—Visits Hyder Ali's Tomb—Situation described.

In a narrative of the sufferings of the English who survived that fatal day, published by an officer of Colonel Bailey's detachment, we find it related, that Hyder Ali, seated on a throne or chair in his tent, enjoyed the sight of the heads of the slain, as well as

of the prisoners. Colonel Bailey, who was himself dangerously wounded, was brought into his camp on a cannon, and with several of his officers, in the same situation, laid at the tyrant's feet, on the ground, in the open air. In this condition, they saw many of the heads of their countrymen presented to the conqueror;—some of them by English officers, who were compelled to perform that horrid task! In a little time, however, Hyder ordered no more heads to be brought to him while the English officers were present.

A tent was then fixed up for the unfortunate gentlemen, but without straw or any thing to lie on, though many of them were dangerously wounded; and as the tent would contain no more than ten, the remainder were obliged to lie in the open air. When

the prisoners were removed from place to place, they were wantonly insulted, and even beaten, by those who had the care of them. I have heard a long catalogue of sufferings, which I could easily believe to be but too true. There were numbers of strange cures related by this gentleman, from whom I received the account, which the reader may see recorded, if so disposed, by a reference to the "Encyclopædia." I was conversant with several while at Patam, who were first circumcised, and, finally, put to death in Bednore. In the narrations of this officer, what I particularly noticed, was, an account of the brave Colonel Fletcher,—the tenderness and humanity of the elephants,—and the almost unprecedented valour of a battalion of cook-boys, who acted as such to the Europeans. The brave Colo-

nel Fletcher slew several with his own hand before he fell

As the elephants would not, with all the exertions of their keepers, tread upon the wounded and slain, these, after the carnage was over, were thrown into a hole in one promiscuous heap. From this heap, a corporal, whose name was Sinclair, of the 73d regiment, who was dreadfully wounded, contrived to crawl: he afterwards recovered, was Mohammedanized, and was with us at Seringapatam. The battalion of cook-boys above mentioned, fell, with few exceptions, three deep, as was their position when standing. These brave fellows ought to have been noticed, as well as the European prisoners, for they suffered much more; I have often been an eye-witness to the cruelties with which they were treated at Seringa-

patam; but they still continued true and loyal to the English.

Colonel Bailey's detachment consisted of about 4700 men, of whom about 700 survived, and many of those severely wounded. None of them were released; some of them died, and others were put to death; and only one, whose name was Mackenzie, made his escape from Chitteldroog after I did. Thus much for the brave but unfortunate Colonel Bailey.

The next whose fate I shall endeavour to describe, is General Matthews, who, with many of his officers and men, arrived prisoners at Seringapatam (about the time of Colonel Bailey's exit) from Bednore, or Hyder Niger. They had surrendered by capitulation, but it was first violated on the part of the general, relative to the treasures; this, together

with another circumstance which I shall presently state, was the cause of his miserable end, together with that of many of his officers.

Onore, or Ananpour, a fort about two days' march from Bednore, had been stormed by part of his army, and all the inhabitants wantonly and inhumanly put to death, and their bodies thrown into several tanks in the fort: this was fresh in Tippoo's memory. The cause of this cruelty was, that two flags of truce had been sent, and both detained. How far such conduct for such a crime could be justifiable, on the part of the English, I leave to those of superior judgment. This was told me by several, to whom I had, at times, opportunity of speaking; and had he taken Hyat Saib's advice, (the killadare of Hyder Niger,) and who

gave him no great trouble in the conquest of the place, he would have done well; but it appears, from many circumstances, that it was to be so. It was intended that he should die by poison,* administered in milk; but as

* One Smith, a deserter from the Company's service, was sent for one morning, to read what was written on the bottoms of four pewter plates or dishes; but not pleasing the killadare in deciphering the words, he was sent away, and another, who could read better, ordered to be brought to the durbar, or place of justice. I was selected; and approaching with fear, I made my salam with as much reverence as I could to one of the greatest men in his kingdom. He ordered the buxer, or paymaster, to give me one of the dishes. It was very legible, and I read it to his satisfaction, interpreted by a youth who was taken with the general; the other three were put into my hands successively, and I read them all. The purport was, that he knew he was poisoned, and by order of Tippoo; that his time was short; that he must submit to his fate; that he had borrowed 330,000 rupees from the Malabar Christians, for the support of his

it did not operate, in their view, sufficiently expeditious, his guards closed his existence with the buts of their firelocks. Perhaps Tippoo, as a Mohammedan, considered this as a just

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army, since he left Bombay; closing with a sincere request, that those who read what was written, (or engraven rather, for it appeared to have been done with a fork or a nail,) and should be so fortunate as to reach any of the presidencies, should make it known to the governor and council, when they would be amply rewarded.—When the passage relative to the money was first mentioned, the killadare appeared quite sanguine, under an idea that it was attainable; but when he understood the meaning of it, he, with the most sovereign contempt, and in the most indignant manner, cried, "Ah! Baunchut!" the meaning of which I cannot, with decency, explain; those who know the Moorish language will understand it. One of the general's servants suffered with him. The other, George Madan, was with us some years after; he was not removed till the general was taken away by night: where he was buried, we never could learn, but, no doubt, in some dirty hole.

retaliation for the butchery at the before mentioned place. Several of his fife and drum boys were Mohammedanized, and placed in the seraglio for the purpose of castration; but this operation never took place: and many of his principal officers left him for Bombay, prior to his being captured. Such was the end of this ambitious and ill-fated general. But before I close, it may be necessary to state the following circumstance, which I conceive will corroborate what I have before observed relative to the cause of his melancholy end.

George Bush, of the Yarmouth, country ship, which was captured by La Fin, French frigate of 40 guns, and James Forsythe, who were separated from us some years after, but who finally made their escape, and joined us in the

Mahratta camp, were, with many more, sent direct to Hyder Niger. In the course of their journey thither, they halted at Ananpour; and being excessively thirsty, they were instantly led to one of the wells, which, I am sorry to observe, the English had filled up some years before with their slain. One James Duffee was then with the above, and had been one of the storming party in this inhuman business; and such was the indignation of the residents on this spot, that, had they not been prevented by the guards, they would have sacrificed those innocent men to their fury, from a remembrance of what had taken place. I mention this circumstance, because I have seen an attempt to justify this branch of the general's conduct.

Now followed the fate of the poor

Malabar Christians, of which I shall ever consider myself the innocent cause, in reading what was written by General Matthews, as stated in the preceding note. Their country was invested by Tippoo's army, and they were driven, men, women, and children, to the number of 30,000, to Seringapatam, where all who were fit to carry arms were circumcised, and formed into four battalions. The sufferings of these poor creatures were most excruciating: one circumstance, which came under my immediate notice, I will attempt to describe. When recovered, they were armed and drilled, and ordered to Mysore, nine miles from the capital, but for what purpose we never could learn. Their daughters were many of them beautiful girls, and Tippoo was determined to have them for his seraglio;

but this they refused; and Mysore was invested by his orders, and the four battalions were disarmed and brought prisoners to Seringapatam. This being done, the officers tied their hands behind them. The chumbars, or sandal-makers, were then sent for, and their noses, ears, and upper lips, were cut off; they were then mounted on asses, their faces towards the tail, and led through Patam, with a wretch before them proclaiming their crime. One fell from his beast, and expired on the spot through loss of blood. Such a mangled and bloody scene excited the compassion of numbers, and our hearts were ready to burst at the inhuman sight. It was reported that Tippoo relented in this case, and I rather think it true, as he never gave any further orders respecting their women. The

twenty-six that survived were sent to his different arsenals, where, after the lapse of a few years, I saw several of them lingering out a most miserable existence.* Some time after our initi-

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* No doubt, many of them survived the downfall of Tippoo, and I should have been proud to hear that the Company had done something for those brave unfortunate men, and particularly so, as all their miseries originated from an English general.——The prison from whence the Malabar Christians were brought to have their noses and ears cut off, for refusing their daughters when Tippoo demanded them for his seraglio, was a horrid dismal hole, which we named the Bull, as there was an image considerably larger than life, of that animal, on the building, which was originally designed for an Hindoo place of worship, but by Tippoo converted into a dungeon. This prison we frequently passed, and expected, sooner or later, to occupy some part of it. Very few who were so unfortunate as to be confined here, escaped with less punishment than the loss of their nose and ears. The chumbars, by whom this operation was performed, are held in abhorrence by the Mohammedans, and, on that account, they were consigned

ation, (about nine months,) many of the mechanics were brought from their different prisons to Patam, and sent to his arsenal, to their different employments; about eighty was their number; they had a tolerable allowance, but were all circumcised. One, whose name was William Williams, effected his escape, but was taken, and treated as the above, with the exception of losing only one ear, with his nose; which was executed before us, as a terror, no doubt, to prevent our attempting any thing in the same manner. Most of those unfortunate men were put to death; nine of them, including

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to this office; and such was their brutality, that they frequently cut (or sawed, rather) the upper lip off with the nose, leaving the poor unfortunate wretch a pitiable object, to spin out a most miserable existence, being always sent to Tippoo's arsenals, to hard labour on a scanty allowance.

two carpenter's mates, belonging to the Hannibal, Archy Douglas, and another whose name I have forgotten, were hung on one tree, because one of the party, named Flood, a serjeant-major in the Company's service, to pass away a tedious hour, had been taking a sketch of the surrounding scenery; this was the crime for which they all suffered death!

The deserters had no lenity shewn them; most of them suffered also, and among them was Dempster, whom I have named before, who was piked to death in his hut; which we were very happy to hear, as this wretch had been the cause of much cruelty towards us. Randal Cadman, who survived those evils, (through illness,) although in the midst of them, escaped on the night our troops, under Lord Cornwallis,

defeated and followed Tippoo's army over the river into Sarragangam; we were then at some distance from the capital, but saw him when we afterwards joined his lordship. He was then all but dead; he survived, however, and from him we had this information. He also informed us, that prior to his lordship's arrival, the principal street in Seringapatam, on each side, was ornamented with paintings, such as, elephants whirling Europeans in the air,—tigers seizing whole battalions of English Sepoys,—five or six English officers supplicating for mercy at the feet of one of his troopers,—and companies flying frightened at the charge of ten or twenty of his horse: with a variety of other worse than silly representations. But when his lordship had taken Bangalore, and was on

his way to the capital, Tippoo thought it prudent to order these daubings to be cancelled.—But to return to the years 1783 and 1784.

Shortly after the arrival of General Matthews, Tippoo, thinking his mode of punishment towards those poor creatures who happened to fall under his displeasure not severe or terrific enough, ordered nine large tiger cages to be made, and placed opposite his kerconah, or treasury. They were arranged there according to his order, and soon tenanted, each with a large tiger. After the death of Colonel Bailey, we were paraded before these ferocious animals, and had an opportunity of seeing them fed once or twice a day; one of the nine was as black as a coal, the only one I ever saw of that colour. They were all taken in the Curakee jungles,

which abound with elephants, tigers, wild boars, panthers, tiger-cats, leopards, &c. and lie about twenty miles from Patam, and about ten from Mysore. Those tigers, above stated, were designed for the punishment of high crimes and misdemeanours: three of his principal officers, namely, his head inchewalla, or general postmaster, his buxey, or paymaster general, and another, were severally thrown to the tigers, and devoured in an instant, all but their heads; for which purpose the tigers were always kept hungry! These all suffered within the short space of four months.

Confinement, however, soon proved destructive to the animals themselves, as scarcely one of them survived above eleven months. At this period, there was a regular import of wild beasts

at least twice a week, taken from the jungles by himself, on his hunting excursions; to which exercise, at one time, he appeared very partial. 1000 horse, 500 pulligars, or pikemen, with some foot, formed his hunting party. His tiger-cats, or leopards, would always accompany him, and with these he used to course, as our gentlemen do with hounds. The elephants were caught in pits; and the tigers and other wild beasts in cages, by fastening, at the other end of the cage, a young pig, a lamb, &c. The wild elephants, though he had numbers that were domesticated, and tigers, were designed for his games, which I shall presently attempt to describe; but I will first mention the manner in which he punished criminals. Amongst numerous other instruments, he had a wooden horse,

of a full size, resembling those adopted for his cavalry, curiously and infernally contrived, on the saddle of which were nine rows of sharp spikes, about three quarters of an inch long. The machine was moved by springs; and as soon as the culprit mounted, the horse, by some mechanism, would rear on his hind legs, and then, falling with a jerk on his fore feet, the spikes would enter the posteriors of the rider. The time of riding was proportioned to the crime; though it was said, that one of his horsemen rode this machine with such dexterity as to avoid the spikes,—in consequence of which he was pardoned. I have oft-times seen the horse, with its furniture, &c. but never saw a culprit on his back, though I was at Seringapatam at the time that several were punished that way. It was removed

when Lord Cornwallis took possession of Bangalore.

But his most common mode of punishment was, that of drawing to death by the elephant's feet; the manner of which was as follows: the poor wretches (for several were drawn at one time) first had their arms tied behind them, above the elbows, and then a rope put about the small of their legs, which was fastened to the elephant's foot. This being done, the criminals stood with their backs towards the elephant's posteriors, waiting sometimes an hour for an order for their execution. The distance they stood from the beast was about six yards, and the first step the elephant took would throw the poor unfortunates on their faces; thus they would be dragged over rough and smooth ground till dead, and with no

faces left. There was a singular circumstance respecting one of his elephants, called Immaumbucies, which, when young, and about the size of a buffalo, came into Seringapatam with a herd of those animals. It was the largest he had, and measured fifteen feet in height. He was much caressed, and appeared sensible of every kind action; in fact, he was more sagacious than any of his fellows, and wonderfully docile. This incident transpired about fifty or sixty years prior to Hyder Ali's usurpation, when Seringapatam was in the possession of the Mysorean chief, as sole monarch of the whole country.

Some error, of no great import, was discovered in the accounts of fifteen fine young Bramins, who were in one of his offices as clerks; for which they lost the fore-finger and thumb of their

right hands, all except one, who was left-handed, and he had his left finger and thumb cut off: but the sufferings of the Bramins in general were indescribably cruel. Poor inoffensive men! Were they accused of being rich, it was enough; and no small pains were taken to procure their accusation, Tippoo's emissaries and spies being in every corner of his kingdom. Once informed against, all pleas were useless, and they were instantly dragged to Seringapatam. On their arrival, they were sent for by the paymaster-general, who would address them mildly, stating, that he had received information they were worth a certain sum of money, which he named, and that he wanted so much for his master's services. If the proposal was acceded to, all was well, and perhaps the Bramin would be put in a

more lucrative situation; but a denial, or a supposed prevarication, was sure to be accompanied with the most exquisite tortures. In this process, the first mode was, piqueting for a given number of hours; then, if this was found of no avail, the addition of scourging; if this also proved ineffectual, needles, fixed in corks, were incessantly applied to their bodies, while still under the scourge. This mode of punishment continued several days; and if all this could not make them confess where their supposed riches were, they would be then led to the large pagoda yard, and there put into cages of iron, on half a pound of rice, and a certain quantity of salt, per day, but not a drop of water, or any thing but those two articles. In this situation I have seen them, with their souls looking through

their eyes, and God knows my feelings at the time; but a look of pity at them from us would have been construed into guilt. They would thus linger a few days, and expire in agonies.

The situation of the oppressors and the oppressed, in pecuniary matters, is, I believe, widely different now. It is generally believed in India, that the Bramins are very tenacious of their money; which may be the case, and I give it credit; but I am strongly of opinion, that numbers of these inoffensive people suffered as above described, having no property whatever; a strong information against them being a just ground with Tippoo for all these cruelties.

About this period, in the year 1785, he seemed more bent on barbarities, than at any other time that I was in his

country. It was not unfrequently that two or three hundred noses and ears would be exhibited in the public market, but to whom they belonged we could not learn. We must, however, leave these tragic scenes awhile, and turn to something less horrible.

We were one day strangely informed, that each of us, who was of proper age, was to have a wife; for this piece of news we were extremely sorry, but there was no possiblity of our preventing their designs. There were, at this time, a number of young girls, who had been driven with their relations out of the Carnatic, when Hyder infested that country, which he almost over-ran, as already stated. Some of these poor creatures were allotted for us; and one morning, we were ordered to fall into rank and file, when those girls were placed one

behind each of us, while we stood gazing at one another, wondering what they were about to do. At last, the durga gave the word, "To the right about face;" with the addition (in the Moorish language) of "take what is before you." This, when understood, some did, and some did not; but the refractory were soon obliged to comply. Thus they fed their vanity, by making our first interview as ludicrous as possible, each being by this means supplied with a piece of furniture, for which, however valuable in general, we had neither want nor inclination. When this ceremony was completed, we were ordered back to our square, and on our return with our young black doxies, we had the bazaar, or public market, to pass, where the crowd was so difficult to penetrate, as to separate us.

This laid the foundation for some serious disputes afterwards, many insisting that the women they had, when they arrived at the square, were not the same they had at first. This scene was truly comic, for the girls, when we understood them, which was many months afterwards, had the same views that we had; and were frequently engaged with their tongues, on this score, long before we could understand the cause of their disputes. Our enemies seemed to enjoy this in a manner that would have done honour to a British theatre. Two months passed on, when the priest came to consummate our nuptials; and the conclusion of the ceremony was as curious as the beginning. The bride and her consort were led to an eminence, with flowers round their necks, and seated; after which, their thumbs

were tied together, when the priest muttered something which we could not comprehend, and we were married. They, however, gave us to understand, that we were subject to pay eighty rupees to the cadi, in case we divorced our wives, very few of whom exceeded eleven years of age.* The one who fell to my lot was a native of Arcot, and had been driven with thousands more when Hyder and Tippoo spread

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* Many of the Hindostan women come to maturity very early: they are frequently mothers at twelve years old, nor is it an uncommon case to find them pregnant much younger; but as they reach womanhood much sooner than the females of Europe, so also they decline at a much earlier period, and lose all their charms when a beauty of the western world is in the zenith of her power. The bloom of youth vanishes soon after twenty; and at thirty, age begins to make its visible ravages; and the fresh, plump, and lively dame, degenerates into a flabby, dull, and unpleasing matron.

destruction almost throughout the Company's territories. She was an affectionate creature, by whom I had two children; one died, and the other I left in the arms of its distracted mother. But I shall wave this subject for the present, and resume it again, if possible, towards the close.

About four months prior to the ratification of peace with the Company and Tippoo, our circumstances were bettered, and we had liberty to walk where we thought proper in the fort, and sometimes permission to go to Sanagangam, about two miles from the fort, where Hyder Ali lies buried, in a garden called Col-bog, or the Red Garden. We were taken to this spot, with many more good mussulmen, to pray for the soul of the deceased, when we had an opportunity of viewing his mosque. It

is situate in the centre of the garden, and in the centre of the mosque is the tomb of this hero. It is a magnificent square building, with four doors, east, west, north, and south; and is ascended by steps, on the top of which, you immediately see, through the doors, his tomb, which, when I saw it, was covered with black velvet, and a steel ball was suspended over it, larger than a 42lb. shot, of an amazing brightness. Here are always a number of faquirs (priests) of the highest order, to perform religious ceremonies, and keep the place inviolate.

There is another garden worth notice, called Derea, Dowlah-bog, or, the Rich Garden of the Sea; this is a most charming spot, nearly surrounded by a lofty wall, at the foot of which runs the river. Here was a great variety

of fruits of the most exquisite flavour, lofty trees of a sublime appearance, together with a representation of the defeat of the brave but unfortunate Colonel Bailey: peace to his manes! Outside of this delectable spot, and near the walls, is a vast tank, in which numbers of large fish were kept (consecrated, I suppose, for they were never disturbed) by the highest order of the faquirs, who had their dwellings on the margin of the tank. But when the English took possession, no doubt these fine fish were appropriated to some other use. The Bramins had a spot also, directly under the fort walls, containing a great number of very fine fish, which were daily fed by them; but doubtless they also have long since been destroyed by some of John Bull's sons.

CHAP. V.

Description of Seringapatam—Ferocious Games—Observations on Lions and Tigers—Sent to Mysore—Tyranny of Tippoo—War with the Nizam—Author put in Irons—Misery of his Condition—Fate of some Bramins—Author separated from some Companions in Misfortune—Marched to Chitteldroog—Disturbed by Snakes—Expedient to procure Money—Anecdote of a Fanatical Native.—Visited by Apes—Singular Snake—Forlorn Condition.

A BRIEF description of Seringapatam and its environs may not be amiss here. This capital of Mysore, (though Mysore itself, distant nine miles, was, prior to Hyder's usurpation, the seat of government,) is an island in the midst of a continent, charmingly situated, and surrounded by the Cavery river; distant from Madras 296 miles.

It is about four miles in length, and about one mile and a half in breadth across the middle, where the ground is highest, whence it gradually narrows, and falls toward the extremities.* At the west end there is a fort of very considerable strength, about three miles in circumference, mounting at least 190 pieces of cannon, including what were on the cavalices. Its appearance, at about three miles' distance, was calculated to strike every beholder, being distinguished by magnificent buildings and ancient pagodas,† contrasted with

* On the margin of this river the Bramins burn their dead; it was infested by numbers of alligators when I left it, though there were none when I first went to it: they are not formidable, being remarkably timid. I and others have frequently amused ourselves by throwing stones at them.

† Uncouth stupendous buildings, the grand residence of their Swarmy, or deity.

the more lofty and splendid monuments,* lately erected in honour of the Mohammedan faith.

At the east end of the island is the pettah, or suburb, called Sanagangam, which was finished while we were there; it was beautifully laid out, about half a mile square, divided into regular streets, all very wide, and shaded on each side with trees, surrounded by a strong mud wall. It was designed for merchants and troops, and possessed all the beauty and elegance of a country retirement, and was dignified by the mausoleum of Hyder. They were about erecting a new and magnificent

* These monuments were ornamented by an engraver and sculptor, whose name was Elliott, an Englishman, and a deserter from Bombay; what became of him I never heard, but suppose he shared the fate of the rest.

palace in the year 1787, the last time I ever saw it but one, which will be noticed hereafter. We were all mustered before Hyder, in his palace, once, but not seeing much of the interior, I am not competent to give an accurate description. It is a very extensive building, flat-roofed, with two wings, one of which is his seraglio, and the other his treasury. The front of the palace was an extensive open place, supported by strong pillars, where the killadare and his retinue sat to administer justice; the palace door being about four yards behind them. Four beautiful Arabian mares, two elephants, and two palanquins, were always in waiting when Tippoo was in his capital; but he approved of the latter mode of conveyance most: I never saw him on horseback, and only once on an ele-

phant. In his person he was majestic, about five feet nine inches and a half in height, with large eyes, an aquiline nose, and remarkably broad shoulders; his complexion was about two shades lighter than quite black. In short, he must have been a very powerful man, though in my opinion, contrary perhaps to most, not possessing any great portion of personal courage. I have never seen but one striking likeness of him since I have been in England.

I was an eye-witness twice to his games, once before the peace of 1784, and once after: the former will, I doubt not, be long remembered by our gallant Sir David Baird, and many more of our officers, who were then Tippoo's prisoners, and in irons. The circumstance I allude to will be presently mentioned, after I have endeavoured

to describe his performances. These games were something after the manner of the Pythian or Olympic, and continued ten days without intermission. After the usual preparations were arranged, which consisted of a strong rope network, attached to stanchions fixed in the ground, forming a semicircle in front of his palace, different descriptions of beasts were brought in, viz. elephants, tigers,* buffaloes, and

* In mentioning these beasts, I beg leave to make a few remarks on the prevailing opinion respecting lions and tigers. In England we have generally been taught to consider the lion as the king of the forest; but to convince me of this, would be a difficult task, as I have frequently been an eye-witness of the strength, fierceness, and agility of the tiger; to which the lion, in these qualities, is much inferior. Of these animals, my reader will be pleased not to draw any conclusions from what he may have seen of exhibitions in Europe, as they bear no more proportion to lions and tigers, in their natural

rams; then followed his getiees, men who, being trained from their infancy to fighting, were wonderfully active and strong; these were seated in different groups, having come from different schools. The games commenced with the rams, perhaps thirty or forty pair each day; their mode of fighting is well known, and therefore needs no description: they would fight ferociously, but were seldom suffered to be completely conquered. This being over, the getiees would be sent for, who always approached with their masters at their head, and after prostration, and

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state, than a stout puppy does to a full-grown dog. In short, it is my humble opinion, that the tigers of India are stronger, more active, and much fiercer, than the lions of Africa, and in every respect their superior, with the exception of generosity, of which quality the tiger is quite destitute. It is this only that gives the lion the advantage.

making their grand salams, touching the ground each time, they would be paired, one school against another. They had on their right hands the woodguamootie, or four steel talons, which were fixed to each back joint of their fingers, and had a terrific appearance when their fists were closed. Their heads were close shaved, their bodies oiled, and they wore only a pair of short drawers. On being matched, and the signal given from Tippoo, they begin the combat, always by throwing the flowers, which they wear round their necks, in each other's faces; watching an opportunity of striking with the right hand, on which they wore this mischievous weapon, which never failed lacerating the flesh, and drawing blood most copiously. Some pairs would close instantly, and no matter which

was under, for the gripe was the whole; they were in general taught to suit their holds to their opponent's body, with every part of which, as far as concerned them, they were well acquainted. If one got a hold against which his antagonist could not guard, he would be the conqueror; they would frequently break each other's legs and arms; and if any way tardy, Tippoo had means of infusing spirit into them, for there were always two stout fellows behind each, with instruments in their hands that would soon put them to work. They were obliged to fight as long as Tippoo pleased, unless completely crippled; and if they behaved well, they were generally rewarded with a turban and shawl, the quality being according to their merit.

There were, at this time, two men of

prodigious size and strength; one, who was called the nabob's getiee, from Madagascar, challenged the other, whose name was Yankertramen, from Tanjour, to fight with creeses.* This being made known to Tippoo, he ordered the latter into his presence, and asked him if he would fight his getiee with a creese. He immediately answered in the affirmative, prostrating himself at the same time; when ordered to rise, he humbly solicited that Tippoo would take care of his family, should he fall: in which he being satisfied, creeses were brought, and one was delivered to each; this attracted the utmost attention of, I suppose, not less than 20,000 spectators. All eyes were bent upon these two

* A most destructive weapon, the length about sixteen inches, sharp and taper at the extremity, but four inches diameter towards the handle.

powerful men. They stood fronting each other for the space of ten minutes; the nabob's getiee looked terrible at any time, but more particularly so now. He was not so stout as his opponent, but he was daring, and appeared sure of conquest. Tippoo watched them narrowly, to ascertain if any symptoms of fear were shewn, or if either of them would decline the combat; but finding them both staunch, his heart, perhaps for the first time, relented, and he graciously ordered both of them presents, and to withdraw, and be friendly with each other.

Outside the semicircle, there would every day appear a man on lofty stilts, with one of the Company's uniforms on; at one time he would seem to take snuff, at another tobacco; then he would affect to be intoxicated; in short,

it was intended as a burlesque on the English, and to make them appear as ridiculous as possible in the view of the numerous spectators.

This being over, the tigers and buffaloes would be introduced, the former in large boxes, as they were caught in the jungles.* The largest had generally chains round their loins. I have seen one of these last-mentioned tigers defeat nine buffaloes, each of which would

* There was a pole fixed in the centre of the circle, about sixty feet high, near the top of which was a cap, whereon a man stood with a rope suspended, for the purpose of pulling up the door of the cage. The rope being fastened to it, another man would apply rockets through a hole in the back of the cage, until the tiger was made to start. I have seen them come out as black as a coal; one, which was particularly noticed, made two desperate attempts to reach the man on the pole, which he very nearly accomplished, to the great terror of the man, and astonishment of all who beheld him.

have been an overmatch for the fiercest bull I ever saw in Europe. He was chained at the time, though he had full scope to reach his antagonist. Many of the smaller ones were let loose singly on the pulligars, or pikemen. One of these fierce creatures, although he had twenty or more pikes in him at once, broke them, and sprung over their heads, killing one man, and wounding two others. It appeared singularly strange to us, that this tiger and another, which made their escape out of the ring by surprising efforts, should both of them make direct for the prison in which our officers were confined. The brave Captain Baird,* now Sir

* We could well distinguish this brave officer by the long beard which he wore; he was also pointed out to us by some person whom I cannot now remember.

David Baird, was there at the time, with many more of our unfortunate officers, who, no doubt, if living, will remember this circumstance.

Towards the close of the evening, would follow eight or ten pair of these getiees, either of whom, had they one of their own holds of our first-rate pugilist, would soon make him cry for mercy. In the evening the elephants would be ordered in, when there would be lying on the ground, a dozen or more supposed dead tigers.* The business of these elephants was to trample

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* One of these creatures, after lying on the ground many hours, and supposed dead, rose, on the touch of the elephant's foot, and coped with him, the elephant roaring dreadfully, till numbers of the pikemen assailed him again, and put an end to his existence. After this circumstance, their whiskers were always burnt, to ascertain if any life remained.

on them, which the keepers could not compel many to do, though they inflicted severe punishment on the refractory. The stoutest elephant always appeared to me to be very uneasy at the sight of a tiger! These games were concluded every night with fireworks, some of which were superlatively grand and curious, exciting at once our astonishment and admiration.

At length, the fatal 1784 arrived; and now we had the painful knowledge, that our destiny was irremediable! A peace was concluded with Tippoo by the East India Company, and we had the mortification of seeing numbers of our officers and men marched out of the fort for Madras, while we were cut off from every hope of ever reaching our country or our friends. The humane reader will be able to appreciate

and judge of our feelings under those trying circumstances. For my own part, it preyed upon my mind for three months, to such a degree as to reduce me much; and I can positively say, I never went to sleep till nature was completely worn out and exhausted with grief and tears!

One morning, we were all sent for in a great hurry, and seated on the ground in front of the palace. An hour elapsed, during which period hope and fear alternately succeeded. A few were quite sanguine that we were going to be released. Vain imagination! We were escorted under a strong guard to Mysore, nine miles from the capital, where we were separated, and sent to different prisons. The spot I was in, was the fatal place where Captain Rumney, and Lieutenants Fraser and

Sampson, had their throats cut;* and, about this period, Lieutenants Rutledge and Spediman were Mohammedanized. The latter cut his own throat between the Mysore gates; and the former, an amiable character, after surviving him about three years, being suspected of correspondence with the English, was

* The guards did not scruple to tell us this; but we had stronger proofs. A few days prior to our being hurried off to Mysore, three covered doolies passed us, and we heard voices, saying, "Good by, my lads,"—"God bless you,"—"We know not where we are to be taken," &c. These were the three gentlemen, Captain Rumney, Lieutenant Fraser, and Lieutenant Sampson, who were now conveyed to Mysore to be butchered. A note, indicating their apprehensions, was found in a wall of our prison, and their fatal place of confinement, by one Morton, a soldier of the Company's service. It was written small, but plain, with ink that they must have made themselves, for it was very blue, and was signed by all three. This was the wretched fate of those brave officers! which it is painful for me to record.

sent to Nairandroog, or rock of death, perhaps as unwholesome a spot as any in Asia. If this did not answer the end intended, that of putting a period to his existence, it is highly probable that poison, or the but-ends of muskets, did. This Nairandroog was the place to which the afflicted Hindoos were sent by hundreds.

Whether we were ever demanded by the English, or not, we could not ascertain, seeing nothing of the kind in any public paper, after we made our escape; but we supposed we were, and assigned that as the cause of our being sent to Mysore in such haste.

At this period, also, Tippoo laid siege to Mangalore, which was bravely defended by Major Campbell, a king's officer. Tippoo did not carry it, for the French troops withdrew on hearing of

the peace; but he hung the killadare, or governor, who had surrendered the fort to the English. This cruelty caused a remonstrance on the part of Mohammed Ali, the killadare's son, who had served with his father faithfully, and then commanded six battalions of tolerably well-disciplined troops, clothed in the manner of our Sepoys. His observations were received by Tippoo with great indignation, and he ordered him to be beaten with a shoe or a sandal, which is the greatest insult that can be given to a Mohammedan. When this was communicated to the six battalions that he commanded, they flew to arms, to resent the treatment of their chief; but, alas! they were surrounded and disarmed, and nearly 2000 of these poor fellows had their noses and ears cut off, and were then sent to hard

labour; and in order to degrade them more, they were dubbed with the epithet "commutie," or scavenger battalions. Their unfortunate commander was sent to Seringapatam a prisoner, where he died of grief.

The English commissioners who were here at this time, John Huddlestone and —— Sadler, Esqrs. who are now living, and two of the Directors of the East India Company, must well remember this circumstance; yes, and other circumstances, of a more important nature, namely, the causes which induced them, knowingly, to abandon a number of fine youths, including many officers, with several choice mechanics, altogether not less than 100 British subjects, for reasons peculiar to themselves, to the most merciless tyrant that ever disgraced authority. I will not add what

was told us by many who went with them in their palanquins from Seringapatam, from the impression, that it *might* not be strictly true; but this I can affirm, that we were not noticed; and the above-named gentlemen, while the prisoners lived, were followed by the curses of all. The few that did survive were about nineteen.

Our lives were now at stake; we expected every hour to be our last by poison, and coppers for that purpose were ready; but after keeping us in the most alarming suspense for several hours, exposed to the scorching heat of the sun, we were remanded to our prison.

Tippoo's force at this time was equal to any, single-handed, in India; bnt the Company not pressing their demands, or from some other cause, for

which we could not account, our lives were spared. At the expiration of six months, we were again joined, and marched back to the capital, where we were put in a square by ourselves, wondering what they were going to do with us next; our guards, however, treated us civilly, which we looked on as a good omen. A month elapsed, when we were again incorporated in his four slave battalions, and promoted to habildars, equal to a sergeant; each of us having a silver plate, value two rupees, to hang upon his breast. We were now once more separated; myself and about twenty others were removed into four of his Christian battalions, which I have before mentioned, and sent to Chindroypatam, a town situate about four days' march from his capital, the rest remaining where they were.

Tippoo wished now to strengthen himself by an alliance with Nizam Ali Cawn; in consequence of which, he sent his vackeil, or ambassador, to demand his daughter in marriage to Abdel Killick, his eldest son. His presents were not accepted, and his request was denied; in consequence of which, an army was assembled of 100,000 men: they encamped near the capital ten days, then struck their tents, and marched direct to the Mogul's territories, in order to chastise him for this insult. Our lads, who were left in the before mentioned battalions, were taken by Tippoo to this campaign. His marches were rapid, and he soon reached Idonia, a strong fortress belonging to Nizam, to which he immediately laid siege; and, after losing a great number of men, he got possession of the place.

One thing looked well in his character during this siege; opium and bang, which are both much used by the Asiatics, and particularly in their armies, he ordered to be collected, wherever found, and burnt in the most conspicuous places in his camp. A few days after he had made himself master of Idonia, he intercepted a letter from the Mahrattas, (a designed thing on their parts,) stating, that they were in full march to join the Nizam: this intelligence caused him to decamp with the greatest precipitancy; and his retrograde movements were so rapid, both by night and by day, scarcely halting four hours at a time, that numbers died of fatigue. During the siege, two of our youths made their escape by swimming across the river Tongabadra; the result was, the rest were directly put in irons, and

sent off to Patam. In their route to this place, they were halted at Chindroypatam, the place in which we then were; and on seeing their condition, and hearing the cause, it gave us no small uneasiness, for we well knew we should partake of their fate. The next morning they proceeded to Patam, and, three weeks afterwards, we also were marched thither.

On our arrival, we joined them, and remained three months in a state of starvation. One of our lads, James Fletcher, died, merely from want of food. Nor was it in our power to relieve him, however we might wish to do so; as we had not enough, even of the worst kind, to suffice nature; and we every hour expected death in one shape or other. While we were in this wretched state, brooding over our mis-

fortunes, calculating on the worst, which we had every reason to do, who should make his appearance, one morning, but the myre, the same who had bound us so unmercifully some years before! He was by no means a pleasing object to us, for we well guessed he came on no friendly errand. Having morosely ordered us to pack up what we had, the guards, which were doubled, hurried us away to the square in front of the palace. Here, being ordered to sit down, the guards surrounding us, we remained four hours, under a scorching sun, nor could we procure a drop of water, or stir one step from the spot. Here was a scene indeed! our women in tatters, our children naked, and ourselves nearly in the same state, without food, or any means of procuring it; the women weeping aloud,

the infants crying for nourishment, and ourselves expecting to be massacred. Whilst under these trying circumstances, four men approached us: on their appearance, something like a glimmering of hope seemed to shed a faint ray; but, alas!

> "How oft a day, that fair and mild appears,
> Grows dim by fate, and mars the toil of years."

It was over! They approached us, but with baskets laden with irons, instead of food. This was no time for appetite. Had loaves and fishes been spread before us, disappointed hope would have destroyed nature's cravings. Oh! if Hogarth had been present at this crisis, what a fine subject for his pencil! Exclusive of the women and children, whose cries now became loud and strong, we were ourselves differently agitated; some wringing their

hands, others casting a piteous look toward heaven, and not a few looking at our persecutors (who were now exulting) with a manly defiance. After being ironed two and two, to which we were well accustomed, we were marched out of the fort, to the distance of a mile. Several poor Bramins were with us in heavy leg-irons, and in that condition forced to walk, or stride rather, as fast as their unfeeling guards could make them go. Our situation was bad enough, but theirs was still worse; we were certain their fate was sealed, but there was still room for a little hope on our parts. Here we were halted for the night, as motley a group of miserables as ever met together. In the evening they gave us a small portion of rice, and the next morning early we were on our march; but for what place

we knew not. The Bramins continued with us—for we were halted when they were behind—for about six miles, when their guards took another road, and, no doubt, they were soon murdered.

About an hour after this, we were halted at a spot where three roads met, and divided into three parties; when the division was complete, the parties were driven one on each of those roads, and such was the haste of the guards, that we were at some little distance before we knew we were to be separated. Here we waved a final adieu to each other in this world, as the sequel will shew.

The next day, the party I was in learned that our destination was for Chitteldroog, about sixteen days' march distance; and our poor wives and children following us, made the march

more than wretched. We had every day given us our poor pittance of rice, with chiliq* and salt. The result of our journey was our grand subject; our wives were assiduous and indefatigable in their endeavours, which was no small consolation to us under the most dreary prospects; and such was their affection, that I am inclined to think some of them would have braved death in our stead. Every evening, when we came to a halting place, we were lodged in one of the Hindoo pagodas; and in one of these a circumstance occurred which may be worth relating.

On one occasion, being asleep in a closely confined hole, we were greatly alarmed, about two o'clock in the morning, by two large snakes crawling

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* The Cayenne pod.

over us.* It is impossible for me to attempt a description of our sensations, particularly in the dark, and so crowded as we were. I conceive our noise, aggravated by our fears, was the cause of those creatures retiring; perhaps frightened as much as we were, as they troubled us no more. We represented this affair to the priests of the pagoda in the morning, who gave us a curious interpretation. When they understood the story, they smiled at our foolish fears, and added, that it was the most fortunate event that could have happened to us, and we might consider

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* Those who are acquainted with the Hindoo customs, know that they keep snakes, consecrated, in their pagodas; in fact, I have seen them often in other places; they are harmless, at least I never heard to the contrary; but the Hindoos must have made them so.

it as a happy omen. I leave the reader to judge the construction we put on their observations.

Three days after this curious visit, we arrived at Chitteldroog, a place situated on seven hills, and which might very easily be made impregnable. Many poor unfortunate wretches were put to death in this fortress, and several paid the debt of nature in the same prison to which we were sent. One week passed, when the smiths came and knocked off our irons; something was also added to our allowance: what a contrast in our minds, now, and fourteen days since! Here we were again distributed in four battalions, of the same description as we had joined five years before in Patam.

Of the other two parties, one was sent to Hyder Niger, and the other

marched back to the capital. One only survived at the latter place, viz. Randal Cadman, whom I have before mentioned, and from whom we had the information of the fate of the rest. Two made their escape from Niger, of whom I have also spoken; and who met us at the Mahratta camp, with two females belonging to their party, who gave them to understand, amidst sighs and tears, that, shortly after they were gone, the rest had their throats cut! that they had lost their husbands, and found means to escape. They were in a wretched condition, but were seasonably and amply relieved by these humane men.

The confidence of the natives here, in our medical abilities, led several of us to take an advantage of their credulity, necessity being the prompter, for

we were often in a state of starvation. One circumstance, among many, may suffice. The punishment, in India, of cutting off the nose and ears, is common, but they have a method of substituting a piece of their forehead for another nose: this operation is painful indeed! But to my subject: John Levesley, who had been taken in the same ship with myself, and who was a presumed doctor, undertook, for six rupees, to put a nose on a poor wretch's face, who had lost his own fourteen years before. The ignorant man, believing in the abilities of this surgeon, consented to undergo the most painful operation, that he might accomplish the business. Accordingly, to work Levesley went. His first performance was, cutting a piece sufficiently large from the shoulder, and forming it in the

shape he wanted it; this done, he immediately scarified the remains of the old nose, and sewed the part of the shoulder on. It remained for three weeks with every appearance of doing well; but, unfortunately, the stitches decayed, and the artificial nose fell off. The poor man, as his only alternative, demanded his six rupees; but he might as well have asked for Tippoo's turban jewel.

Here three tedious years rolled over our heads, during which period we learned, that, previous to Hyder's usurpation, this place was held by a rajah or prince, happy in his subjects, having a district to himself, as we were informed by some intelligent Hindoos; but in process of time, Hyder got possession of this strong fortress. In consequence of this revolution, a certain man

of the cast of Bramins, whose covering I have often seen, lay in one spot fourteen years: he uttered scarcely any thing but imprecations against Hyder and his son Tippoo. The situation he was in was so low, that it appeared to me strange how he escaped destruction by inundations in the monsoon seasons. We were for three years in the pettah, or suburbs; but all of a sudden, our habitation, with the walls in which we were immured, being destroyed, we were removed into the lower fort, during which time, about nine months, we all saw this strange character, or the spot where he lay, rather; hearing him speak frequently, and once or twice seeing his hands. We often spoke to him, and sometimes he would reply, but at times he would not. When he did speak, he would either

use abusive language towards Hyder, or ask for patamy.* We were informed that he had a guard over him six months prior to our arrival, in order to detect the imposition; but his supposed madness saved him, for the Mohammedans have a great respect for all of this description. Many strange stories were told about this singular person. All I shall add, is, that we were many months near him, both by night and day, he still continuing the same language, and lying in the same spot. We often laughed at the strange stories relative

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* A kind of grain, resembling a split pea. It was positively asserted by many, that he made use of no kind of food; but this is false, as he would frequently ask for the above grain. He was in the same spot when we left the place; and what seemed most strange to us, was, his not moving to obey nature's calls. What became of him I know not, but should be highly gratified to learn.

to this man; but, from auricular and ocular demonstration, we could not avoid believing some of them.

This place abounds with apes of the largest stature I ever saw, the ourang-outang excepted, and the natives do not injure, but rather indulge them. This made them bold, which was by no means an addition to our comfort; for we found it absolutely necessary to act on the defensive; one of our meals out of two being generally taken from us by these depredators; and such was their temerity, that a stout stick would scarcely alarm them. In short, we were forced to oppose cunning to cunning; they to steal our rooties, (cakes baked on a flat earthen pan,) and we to hinder them. They might frequently be seen in multitudes on their inaccessible hills, parading in squa-

drons; and various reports were handed to us relative to these creatures, but I pass them by as such. A brief description of one more curious animal, and I will resume my narrative.

We killed a snake at this place, not exceeding two feet in length; out of the middle of its belly grew an arm, similar to a human arm, from the elbow downwards; the whole of which was formed with the most exquisite delicacy. The joints, the nails, and every part belonging to it, equalled, if not exceeded, any thing I ever saw, in point of formation. I have often regretted I did not bring its skin home, as I had it in my possession; but at that time there was very little prospect of my bringing home my own. Numbers of the natives who saw this reptile, considered it as something ominous.

Often have I paraded in the most disconsolate manner, in the silence of those delicious nights peculiar to that country, and which are not to be described by the most masterly pencil; when the moon appears in the midst of the firmament with her beams gradually dispersed, surrounded by a soft curtain of clouds. But, alas! they were no beauties to me; the ever-prevailing impression still corroding my mind, with my heart ready to burst at the thought of being for ever cut off from all that were near and dear to me. I had no prospect, not the most distant hope, of ever seeing again my country, parents, friends, or one who was equally the object of my tenderest solicitude. I have digressed thus, in stating the ideas that continually preyed on my heart, because they were really grievous to me.

The melancholy hours we passed here would take a more able pen than mine to describe; in fact, I do not think any could do it justice. I have observed before, that we were all young, yet none of us dared sing "Rule Britannia," or even hum it with impunity. We prohibited it between ourselves, under the impression of bitterness, and the idea of every hope being marred of ever seeing our country or friends again.

The taunts and insolence of the guards were no small addition to our misery. We had the feelings of Englishmen, and we suffered from their insults more severely than from their punishments. We could not forbear uttering the most bitter invectives against them, although at the expense of our lives, had we been heard; but we were

almost unmindful of their hate. Barbarity and cruelty were all we did, or could expect, from a tyrant; therefore we were almost callous to his power to injure us. We remembered our own native soil, where the freedom of the subject is co-equal with that of his sovereign, and despised those wretches, who so far swerved from the dictates of every honourable and manly principle, as to treat us with such baseness.

When we could meet together, which at this period was very dangerous, our conversation was very scanty, having no subject but our misfortunes to discuss. Hence a question would be, after perhaps a long silence, started by one of the party, Do you think we shall ever see our parents or country more? This never failed to draw tears from

some eyes, and sighs from others' bosoms; and here we could not refrain from inveighing bitterly against the government. But, alas! of what use! Our hopes were cut off, and we were secure. Patience, and an affiance in the Almighty, were our only consolation.

CHAP. VI.

War renewed with the English—Bangalore taken from Tippoo.—Author and Companions entertain some Hopes of Escaping—Seem zealous for Tippoo—Obtain Confidence—Trusted with Arms—Gain Military Employment—Storm a Fort—Meditate an Escape—Make an Effort—Compelled to Return—Take their Final Departure—Progress of their Journey—Accidents—Enter some Mahratta Forts—Alarm—Danger—Seasonable Relief—Reach a Hospital, under the Care of an English Doctor—Kindly received—Visit the Mahratta Camp—Hospitable Treatment—March with the Army—Military Progress—Extraordinary Death of a Sepoy—Repair to Madras—Sail for England, and arrive in Safety.

NEARLY four tedious years had rolled away, during which we had scarcely heard of war; at length, Bangalore was taken by Lord Cornwallis: this was news indeed! but we were forced to

dissemble, and affect to be very sorrowful. How necessary to act the hypocrite in some cases! We soon learned also—for they were kinder to us now, through fear—that the Mahrattas were making (to us glorious) inroads into Tippoo's country, which afforded us some hopes of one day having an opportunity of making our escape. The Mahrattas, our allies, had, in the course of a few months, taken and destroyed two-thirds of the district of Chitteldroog; when Dowlah Saib, then killadare, or governor, not so unfriendly to the English as many others in his situation, collected together a force of about 3500, inclusive of the four battalions in which we were. With these he frequently made excursions, in order to retake from our allies what they had taken from him; and in

these excursions we were always excepted.

We now more than ever put our mental powers to work, to effect our escape; the plan we adopted, was, apparently to be more zealous than ever we had been, in Tippoo's service. When we supposed this was sufficiently noticed, we went to the commandant, who had the sole direction of the four battalions. We could now all talk the language fluently, and we appointed Mr. Drake, midshipman of the Hannibal, to negociate this, to us, important business, in which he acted the hypocrite admirably, and to our entire satisfaction. On our arrival before him, after paying our most reverential Mohammedan obedience, we humbly asked him the reason that we were not taken with our battalions? He frankly

answered us, for he was by no means a cruel Moor, that he was apprehensive we should leave him. Here he was perfectly right; but duplicity was our only alternative. We therefore began to work upon his credulity, giving him to understand, that we had been a long time in the service, and had long eaten the sultan's salt, (a common expression among the Moors;) that many of us had children, and that we were become as themselves; that we did not consider ourselves deficient in personal courage, and wished for an opportunity of shewing it. Our reasons had the desired effect: he placed confidence in our observations, good man; and the next day each was ordered a musket, bayonet, and twenty rounds of ammunition, &c.

We were not long unemployed, for

our killadare receiving advice that Tilligore, a mud fort of some little strength, had been taken, not by the Mahrattas, but by a banditti of Canaries, he ordered his forces to be in readiness to march the next morning against them. We were taken with our battalions, and two days brought us near its walls, a distance of sixty miles. Here we halted for the night, and the next morning our commander, the killadare himself, sent a summons to the fort to surrender; but their answer being of a spirited nature, we were ordered to advance, and such was their tenderness towards us, that we were selected, and placed in front, like a forlorn hope; with this exception, that a forlorn hope is generally composed of volunteers, but we had no choice.

The fort was surrounded by a for-

midable thicket, which is always the case in the interior, where wild beasts abound; which we breached with our bayonets, throwing it in different directions. While doing this, we were assailed by stones, some of them a pound weight, from slings; one of our number, which was twelve altogether, was knocked down by a stone, and lost an eye. On entering the thicket, three more fell; two were killed, and one was wounded by a ball through his shoulder. The blacks now came to our assistance on the glacis; but here we had no chance of doing any execution, unless we could pass a shot through their loop-holes while they were in the act of firing. Scaling ladders were at length brought, and the poor wretches who had to erect them were scalded in a dreadful manner, by the besieged

pouring on them boiling oil mixed with cowdung. However, one ladder was erected, on which about thirty mounted, when they threw a large log over the wall, which struck the ladder about the middle, and broke it; they all fell; and several with their swords through the bodies of their companions. Two small field-pieces were now brought out, served by Frenchmen, and by cannonading for about three hours, a breach in the wall was made, and deemed practicable; but the ladder was found considerably too short. Here numbers fell; and had they stood to it, they would have repulsed 3500 with about 90 men: but their ammunition failing, they grew timid, and ran from the breach, which they had defended awhile with bravery.

In short, the fort was stormed, the males were put to the sword, with the

exception of a few, whom I am proud to say we were instrumental in saving, and who called upon all the deities they ever worshipped, to bless and preserve us. Mr. Wentworth Augustus Lesage, a midshipman of the Hannibal, was shot through the heart. He was the next man to me; we were like brothers, so firm a friendship existed between us, and were never apart more than necessary. As he was falling, I caught him in my arms, and at the same instant a black from the fort was deliberately levelling his musket at me. I fortunately observed him, laid the body of my unfortunate friend down, took up my musket, and, although it was unloaded, presented it at the deliberate villain; at which he was alarmed, and ran from his situation. Thus, by a sudden presence of mind, I saved my

life. Lesage was one of the finest, and perhaps strongest, young men in India, both in body and mind, and was lamented by all who knew him, both black and white. He had made such rapid proficiency in a knowledge of their manners and customs, that, had he lived, he would have been an honour to his country, and a rival to Sir William Jones in Asiatic literature. They wished us to leave him where he fell; but myself and Mr. Drake, whom I have already mentioned, got a camel, (a blanket made of camel's hair,) tied the four corners together, put a pole through it, and in this way carried him to a pady, or rice field, where, with our hands and bayonets together, we secured him as well as we could under ground; but doubtless the jackals, which were remarkably numerous, soon

had him up again. This being done, the night advanced apace; and when the butchery was over, which is more or less the consequence of storming, every thing that was inflammable was set on fire.

We now considered it a fair opportunity of pushing off; but the tears and forcible entreaties of two of our party, who were wounded, prevented us for this time. Poor fellows! they knew what their fate would be, had we left them; besides, they belonged to five of us, who had bound ourselves many years before never to forsake each other. In short, we returned to Chitteldroog, after losing about 200 men; and knowing we had not behaved amiss, expected soon another opportunity, but this did not offer for three months afterwards.

In the intermediate period, our good commandant, in a fit of madness, from taking too much opium, cut his throat, and thus saved himself from reprehension respecting us. Three months elapsed, when one night we were assembled for an excursion.* About half-past

* Late in the evening, the order came to prepare for marching. I had then one child, sixteen months old, by one of the most affectionate of women; she was always suspicious I should leave her, if opportunity offered. She was certainly right in her conjectures; and my answers were uniformly evasive to her questions on that score. The battalion was under arms, while I was in my hut, looking at her and the child alternately. Her soul was in her eyes; and surely never a woman looked at a man with more eagerness and anxiety. I fain would have taken her with me, and the child, who was then smiling in my face. I was eager to give them a final embrace; but fearful of the consequences. O my God! what were my sensations then! and even now, after a lapse of more than thirty years! I am still sure a thousand will never obliterate that moment. In the midst of these mutual distrac-

ten, we marched from the fort, and at day break encamped ten miles distant from Chitteldroog, where we lay inactive for several days. Here they kept a jealous eye over us, particularly by

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tions, I was repeatedly called by my Moorish name, Shum Shu Cawn, to come and fall in. At last, I resolutely tore myself from her and the child without speaking a single word, and I never saw them more. Farewell! thou most affectionate creature! and may the God of mercy and peace preserve thee and thy infant!——[His surviving friends have observed, that Mr. Scurry, on his return to England, repeatedly sent letters to India, in the hope of their reaching his wife; and, in two or three instances, when he found persons of his acquaintance going to those districts in which she probably resided, he has requested them to use every effort to find her out, and bring her to this country. At the same time he was not without his fears, from the early age at which women die in India, that she was no more. Still he had always sanguine hopes of finding the child, whom he left smiling in its mother's arms; but in this his expectations were never realized.]

night, so that it was next to impossible to effect any thing; knowing this, we were determined to try the day for the attempt. Noon was agreed on as the most proper time. The five* of us who had long bound ourselves to each other for this purpose, accordingly stole out of the camp, singly, in different directions, and met at the distance of a mile, as by agreement; immediately pushing for a jungle, or wood, which lay about six miles distant, which, if we could reach, would crush the alarming fears we were under from the pursuit of their cavalry. We had no arms at this time, but a carbine, which Mr. Drake carried

* William Drake, midshipman of the Hannibal; dead—William Whitway, midshipman of the Fortitude, J. Pudman; living—John Wood, of the Chaser Sloop of War; living—John Jourdan, of the Hannibal; unknown—James Scurry, of the Hannibal; the author.

behind him, covered by his black camel. We were now pushing on rapidly, when, to our great consternation, we saw a company of armed men coming the same road we were going. They could not but see us; we instantly separated, and, providentially for us, a tremendous shower of rain came on at the moment, which well covered our retreat back to the camp. We learned, in the evening, that a company of sixty men were the day before sent on a reconnoitering expedition: this was the party; and we were not a little rejoiced at our narrow escape.

About eight o'clock in the evening, an order was issued to strike our tents, and from the hurry and bustle that prevailed, we concluded that an enemy, or friend to us rather, was near. Immediately, the line took arms, and was on

its march for Chitteldroog. The sky darkened, and an approach of rain was near, the effects of which they were intent upon guarding against: this was our time. We belonged to different companies, but the heavy rain did away with all restrictions. We joined, and pushed through several battalions which were on our left, in order to gain a jungle, which was at no great distance. It was now very dark; we entered the jungle, and slackened our pace. Being in the rear, I thought I could discern something behind me, when, halting and turning round, I distinguished a person following us; I asked in Moorish, "Who is that?" "Richardson," was the answer. This poor fellow, who was suspicious of our design, had narrowly watched our motions: we were glad to find it was he, and asked him what was

his motive for this conduct? He replied, "To go with you." We gave him our hands, and desired him to come on, which he did for a quarter of a mile, when he suddenly stopped, and wept aloud. We asked him the cause of this behaviour, but received no answer for some time, when we forced him to explain himself. The poor fellow, then, in broken accents, told us he could not leave his children! He had two; this wrung my heart, but it did not alter my resolutions! we gave him all the encouragement we could, but all to no purpose, and he went back with his heart ready to burst, but made his escape afterwards.

We soon, to our comfort, got out of the jungle; and it then appeared a little lighter, but not a star was to be seen. Here we should have been in an awful

dilemma, had the winds been variable, as they are in the western world; but the trade wind, so called, was very much in our favour; in fact, it was our compass, for keeping it on our right cheek, we knew we were steering due north, which was our proper course to a place of safety.

Here a circumstance happened, which had every appearance of proving a sad misfortune to one of our party. Those who are acquainted with the interior of India, know what kind of thorns are there, as stiff as nails, and as sharp as needles. One ran into Whitway's foot, which precluded him the possibility of walking. He sat down, and in a manly tone requested we would make the best of our way, with a "God prosper you, for I cannot move a step further." This was a lamentable case,

but we were not disposed to leave him so: we had provided ourselves with little useful articles for our design; we had in our butwaws,* flints and steel, and one fortunately had some cotton; and, as necessity is the mother of invention, we put our wits to work. One struck a light, another rolled up a piece of the cotton, while the other two held a camel over his head. Mr. Drake stood surgeon, and, with time and difficulty, extracted the thorn, which was full an inch long. Thus delivered, he joyfully rose, and away we pushed as cheerfully as circumstances would admit. Our chief care now was, to preserve our arms and ammunition in order: these were our secondary dependence; Providence was our first. We

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* A bag with four pockets.

knew not how soon we might want them, for it was essentially necessary to be all eye and all ear.

We had not gone three miles farther, when we suddenly fell on a party of armed men, whose numbers we knew not; they were busily employed in preparing their rice and currie. They left all on our approach, and fled one way; and ourselves, no less surprised, turned off another; our business was not fighting, but flying. Shortly after this adventure, we came to a thicket, which we considered a safe and convenient place to take a little refreshment. We consumed what we had, with the exception of a small quantity of raw rice, which we still held good. When the day began to break, we found ourselves near a rising ground, which we lost no time in ascending. Here we had a

view of two villages, at the foot of the hill, belonging to Tippoo, where we could discern the people preparing their food, and at their different employments. We lay snug the whole of the day, exposed to the scorching heat of the sun, and torrents of rain, alternately. We could see Chitteldroog at a distance of about twenty miles. Here more genuine sorrow oppressed me; and not speaking to an affectionate woman, or even kissing a lovely child, preyed on my spirits. Great Being! thou, and thou only, knowest what the joyful, gloomy fluctuations of a mind under similar circumstances are! I fain would have gone back, could I have done so with safety, yet that was more dangerous than proceeding: but enough.

About five in the evening, we descended the hill, whilst yet good day-

light; and fortunately for us, since, having a thick jungle to pass, an attempt to have done it in the dark would have proved fruitless. One of the party, who carried our poor pittance of rice, unfortunately fell into a deep pit, and it was with great difficulty we got him out again; and had we not descended the hill when we did, the obstructions would have been insurmountable after dark. Here some good being directed our weary steps. After passing this difficulty,* we saw, by the little light

* While prosecuting this dangerous journey, the author, on a detached paper, observes as follows: This day a circumstance took place, that may be worth recording. In passing through one of the jungles, which are very common in many parts of this country, we were all on the alert, all eye, all ear, wild beasts of different descriptions abounding in these recesses. We were not annoyed, however, by any of them, but we were much alarmed by the sudden appearance of a tremendous snake, which was, as

that yet remained, a man driving two or three buffaloes to a ruined village. He saw us, and hastened his pace; but we neared him, and desired him to stop: he was terrified, and made the more haste, until we called out to him in the Tillingey language, which he understood, and stopped immediately. From this poor fellow, for such he was, we gained some information; and one branch appeared to us extremely gratifying, viz. that there was a fort, not more than three miles distant, in the possession of the Mahrattas. We requested him to shew us the road, which he promised to do after he had secured

nearly as we could judge, about eleven or twelve feet in length. It passed near my path; and if I ever gave a hearty spring, it was at that moment. It soon got into a hole, all but about three feet of its tail, which we destroyed with the but-ends of our firelocks.

his cattle; we desired him to make haste, which he very reluctantly did. We took the old man with us; and when we came to the fort, he begged we would suffer him to depart,—adding, he should lose his life if he were discovered. This we could easily believe; and after making him swear by his gods, that what he had told us was strictly true, we rewarded him in the best manner we could, and dismissed him.

We entered the fort, which we had no sooner done, than we were surrounded by at least fifty armed men, with pikes, swords, and muskets. A number of haughty questions were asked us; such as, Where we came from? What we were? &c. &c. And as they spoke, they closed on us much; when one roared out, in the Canary language,

to seize and bind us: this they supposed we did not understand. We instantly, for not a moment was to be lost, charged the thickest of them, not with a design of injuring, but to intimidate them; it had the desired effect, they fled in all directions, the two sentinels at the gate only remaining. We addressed them, saying, we had no intention of hurting any, and particularly those who were the allies of the English; closing with a request that they would shew us the way out of the fort. They were very surly, and one of them asked us which way we came in? Thinking it would be time thrown away to stand parleying with those wretches, we insisted upon one of them (it was now about midnight) shewing us the way out of the fort; and the man who asked us how we came in, prompted

by fear, complied with our demand. This place, we afterwards learned, had recently been taken possession of by the Mahrattas, but Tippoo's people were still in it, who affected to be well disposed towards the former; but supposing it would soon be in the hands of Tippoo again, would have treated us as they said, but fear checked them. We were not a little joyful on this occasion, and reflected severely on one of our party for advising us to go into the fort. This proved a very fatiguing night's march indeed. The red heavy soil sticking to our sandals the thickness of an inch, the heavy rains lately fallen, the darkness of the night, with scarcely any rice left, were circumstances truly discouraging; but having no alternative, we pushed on, one leading the van, who was relieved every

half hour, as nearly as we could guess, he having the most danger to encounter. This plan was adopted in consequence of three tumbling into a ditch together, during the first night's march.

About day-break, we found ourselves near a tallow, or lake; here two of our number alarmed the other three, by positively asserting they saw a tiger on the other side of the water. This was very unseasonable, as we were much exhausted from the efforts we had already made. I could see nothing of the kind myself, though I rather think they did, as they were positive afterwards. Here we laid ourselves down, and notwithstanding our bodies made impressions of three or four inches in the mud, I do not recollect I ever experienced such refreshing sleep. When we awoke, it appeared, by the sun's

height, to be about nine o'clock; and after refreshing ourselves with a few mouthfuls of rice, the last we had, and some water, adjusting our priming, &c. we pursued our journey. About eleven, we saw a fort at no great distance, which somewhat alarmed us; but meeting a person who appeared very intelligent, we learned the state of the country, and informed him of our affair on the preceding evening. He gave us to understand, that he was a Mahratta himself, and that there was no cause for fear now, as the fort was commanded by a Mahratta. With this news, we cheerfully advanced under its walls; but, to our no small surprise, found ourselves a second time surrounded! We remonstrated, but, notwithstanding, were kept nearly two hours, during which time two officers were

sent from the fort to examine us; and, when they had done, they returned to the killadare's, to give him an account.

In this interval, we could not tell what to make of it, and particularly as a few of the guards were gradually closing. We requested them to stand at a less menacing distance; which they refused, and we insisted on. Here was all but —— they threatened; we were resolute: they said they would disarm us; we dared them to it; asking them, at the same time, whether many of them had not fathers, mothers, brothers or sisters, wives and children, to lament their loss? and did they suppose we would submit with impunity? We were on the alert; our bayonets fixed, and looking as fierce, perhaps, as Falstaff did when giving an account to

Prince Henry of the numbers he had slain. But, waving this, we expected nothing for awhile but fighting for it. We had arranged our plan of attack long before this, viz. in case any thing of this kind should occur, to charge immediately after firing our pieces, with what effect we could: and I humbly think that none of us would have been taken alive, for we had well weighed the result in such a case; but, thank God! we were speedily relieved from this untoward situation by the arrival of the killadare himself, who, at our request, ordered the guards to withdraw. He was very inquisitive; in fact, our appearance was enough to excite curiosity; and as we were very hungry, we said we would barter with him. He asked, how? We replied, if he would be pleased to order us something

to satisfy our craving appetites, we should then cheerfully give him all the information in our power. He laughed heartily, repeating several times, "What a curious barter!" He, however, readily acceded to our request, ordering some rice, doll,* and ghe,† which we soon converted into a good dish of cudgeree,‡ and while preparing, one or the other was answering his questions, for we could all talk Moorish, but learned it not from choice. In short, he appeared pleased with our information, and grew kind; and we were no less pleased with his bounty. He made us large offers to stay with him, which we thankfully declined; and after gain-

* A kind of split pea.

† Buffaloes' butter, which is always in a liquid state, owing to the heat.

‡ The three articles prepared together.

ing what information we could relative to the Mahratta camp; where they were? whether any English were with them? who had the command of them? &c. though, by the bye, we had learned his name before; and our mentioning it, we afterwards conjectured, induced him to treat us with kindness;* we heartily thanked him for the refreshment we received, and he as heartily wished us safe to the Mahratta camp: thus, with mutual good wishes, we left him.

When we were about a mile distant, we looked back, and saw a man running after us; we stopped, and waited his

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* It was Purso Rhamboo, field-chief of the Mahrattas, to whose camp we were directing our course. The moment they heard this, there was a visible change in their conduct, for he was a mighty man amongst them!

arrival: when he came up, he gave us to understand, that the killadare had sent his salam, (compliments,) to request a few cartridges. We would sooner have parted with our clothes, such as they were, than our ammunition, for we knew not what dangers we had still to encounter: however, we could not refuse without ingratitude, and we agreed to send him five, one from each, with our respects, &c.

Towards the evening, we came to a river, which, with much difficulty, we forded; and, after gaining the opposite side, we began to think of our night's lodging, and of preparing the only meal of rice we had left from the killadare's bounty. Some little distance from the margin of the river, we found a spot which suited our purpose; here we pitched, and after preparing our food

and sleeping soundly that night, we found ourselves in the morning quite refreshed, and cheerfully pursued our journey.

About twelve o'clock, we saw some men coming towards us; they did not appear numerous, and we met them: they were eight pulligars, or pikemen, belonging to a fort in the possession of our allies, which was distant a coss. or three miles. We asked them who commanded the fort? They answered, a Moor, and a cheerful good-natured man. This information was received by us with much pleasure, and we immediately made for the fort, without fear. On arriving at the gates, we inquired for Eusin Cawn, the killadare, for we had learned his name from the pulligars; when we were answered, that he was in the interior of the place, and

that they would send a messenger to him to announce our arrival. On the Moor's return, we were informed that the killadare wished to speak to one of us, unarmed. We had confidence here, and deputed one of our party, disarmed, to speak to the chief; and on his return, we found every thing to our wishes, with the additional pleasure of hearing, that at the distance of eighteen miles there was an English doctor, with a number of sick Sepoys. This, to us, was news indeed! This killadare was just the man he had been represented to us; open, generous, and facetious, he formed a striking contrast to the generality of Asiatic Mohammedans, who are empty, subtle, and cruel.

We were now led to a choltree,*

* A place set apart for the use of travellers.

where we were soon informed that the killadare would pay us a visit. We received, prior to his making his appearance, provisions of an excellent quality, and while in the act of preparing it, he, with his guard, was approaching. On his arrival, we made our salam, which he most cordially returned; then followed interrogatories: our answers were extremely pleasing to him, and he appeared highly gratified. He paid us many compliments on our courage in effecting our escape, and closed by shrewdly observing, "I suppose you will soon lose sight of the Prophet, now." To this we made no reply, not being willing to offend our benefactor. We gave him a hint that we were hungry, which he quickly understood, and politely withdrew. Here we staid one night, and fed on the best

this good Mussulman could procure for us; and as our fears and cares were in a great measure removed, we enjoyed ourselves in a superlative degree.

In the morning, we waited on the killadare, to thank him for his kind attention to us. He very warmly expressed himself our friend, and most cordially invited us to tarry with him; adding, that every thing should be done to make our stay comfortable: but to this we could not accede; and after many jocose remarks on his part, and mutual good wishes on both, we proceeded on our journey towards Hurryhur, a place of some strength, situate on the margin of the Tonguibadra river. At noon we came within sight of the fort, which we beheld with transports of joy.

We now concluded ourselves safe

from the fangs of Tippoo, and fired a *feu de joie*, in our own way, on the occasion. On our approaching the gate, the first object that struck our attention was an English Sepoy sentinel: he very properly asked us, where we came from? and what we were? and when he received our answers, his heart participated in our pleasure; for numbers of the Sepoys, taken by Hyder and Tippoo, had suffered more cruel treatment than the Europeans, and with this they were well acquainted. He kindly pointed out where the English doctor resided, whose name he informed us was Little. We immediately went to his abode, where we found another Sepoy sentinel. We asked him if Dr. Little was within? He answered in the affirmative. We requested to see him, and his servant made his appear-

ance at the door. This man was an English, or, which is all one, a Scotchman. His surprise was so great, that we could not, for a while, get any words from him; and no wonder, for he had never seen such a sight before. We were in Tippoo's full uniform, that is, all that was left of it; blue turbans on iron hoops, tiger jackets, with a camel over our shoulders and tied round our loins, mustaches nearly reaching our ears, two of us sorely wounded by falls, and the whole, in pushing through thickets, completely scarified. Finding this man to be the doctor's servant, we requested to speak to his master; who soon appeared. His surprise was not less than his servant's. He asked, who we were? where we came from? and several other questions, almost in one breath. We informed him we had been taken in the

Hannibal, 50-gun ship, in the year 1782, by Count de Suffrein, and delivered over to Hyder Ali; and that we had, after a variety of hardships, providentially effected our escape. Here a pathetic scene took place; the good doctor's sensibility was touched, and the tears trickled down his face as fast as they could flow. Recovering from his emotions, he, in broken accents, requested us to walk in, when he kindly desired us to sit down; but some minutes passed before any conversation took place. Here we had many good things provided for us, and among them some French brandy, of which we drank moderately, thankfully, and cheerfully. The good man partook of our joy, and was very attentive to every thing we said; in fact, he used every effort in his power to make our stay comfortable.

Two months elapsed, while we were in this place, when it was announced that the Mahratta army was within three days' march of us; and as there were three battalions of English Sepoys acting in conjunction with their army, commanded by Major Little, our good friend, the doctor, thought this a safe and favourable opportunity to send us to the camp. We accordingly set out, in company with some Sepoys, who were recovered of their wounds and disorders; mustering about fifty altogether, well armed and accoutred, and, after three days' march, we reached the camp.

Here we were treated like little kings; and Major Little, in company with his officers, was pleased to say, we were an honour to our country. This observation, from a gentleman of

his known courage and ability, was not a little in our favour; we were respected by all who knew our circumstances. Here we ranged every day where we pleased, having nothing to do, but to march with the camp, and strike and pitch our tent when we came to the ground. The Mahratta army consisted of 40,000, and its followers three times that number; their infantry was the most contemptible I ever saw, but the cavalry was good, and has often proved fatal to troops once broken. Here we had some painful opportunities of seeing the Bramin women ascend the funeral pile with the dead bodies of their husbands, apparently with as much composure as we would sit down to our breakfast.

We were several months in this camp, during which time, the Mahratta chief,

in conjunction with our little detachment, took the important post of Simoga, with several other places of some strength, and defeated Riza Saib, and near 10,000 of the sultan's cavalry. This success flushed Purso Rhamboo to that degree, that he immediately pushed on for Hyder Niger, or Bednore, (the fatal spot for General Matthews, which I have already mentioned,) with an intention of laying siege to it. This was a wonderful undertaking for a Mahratta army; but in those cases he placed his confidence in our little detachment, who were always the van in all danger.

In pursuing our march to the above place, we learned that a body of Tippoo's troops was strongly entrenched at the extremity of a thick bamboo jungle, to dispute the passage. Our

brave Major, with his three battalions, and a weak company of European artillery, was ordered to proceed through the jungles, to dislodge them. They consisted of 4000 men, and the road would admit of but four abreast. This service was performed in a most gallant manner, but with heavy loss both of officers and men. Nine pieces of cannon, with their tumbrils, &c. were brought into the Mahratta camp, amidst the acclamations of thousands, who were astonished at the bravery and rapidity of this affair.

Nothing now remained to prevent our reaching the Gauts, which is a range of hills defended by numerous batteries, at the foot of which we encamped, and the next day one of the battalions was sent to reconnoitre; when they opened a fire from several spots

at once, but with little execution, being at too great a distance. Our loss was one Sepoy, whose death was so singular that it deserves to be recorded. This poor fellow was struck in the head by a spent shot, a six-pounder, which lodged there. It was seen by me and thousands more before he was interred; and although I have witnessed many strange wounds, this appeared to me the most remarkable, the shot being half in and half out of his temple.

While these preparations were going on, an express came from Lord Cornwallis, who was about commencing the siege of the capital, to hasten our march thither. No time was lost on the part of the Mahrattas; for the next morning, Purso Rhamboo, the chief, ordered the tents to be struck early, and by seven o'clock the whole camp was in motion.

We were much elated on this business, under an idea that we should be of great service to his lordship, knowing every creek and crevice of Patam. The first day we passed Ananpour, the spot where so much barbarity had been practised by our troops, as before related; and twelve days brought us within one day's march of Tippoo's retreat, and his lordship's camp. Here we applied to Major Little, to quit his camp for the grand army, assigning as our reasons, the service we might be of, in case of Lord Cornwallis's storming Seringapatam. Major Little highly approved of our plan, and as there was no necessity for an escort, we departed, and reached his lordship's camp that evening; but, to our no small mortification, we found that a capitulation had taken place, and that Tippoo's two sons

had been received by Lord Cornwallis the day before our arrival.

The conditions acceded to, on the part of Tippoo, were: to lose half his territories, which were to be given up to the allies, with a vast sum of money to defray the expenses of the war; that all prisoners, from the time of his father to the present period, were to be unconditionally liberated;* and, lastly, that two of his sons were to be surrendered

* There were very few surviving at this time; and although his lordship's humanity ought ever to be remembered in this case, yet we well knew, or guessed, that he would never have any delivered to him. Neither had he. There were none, who had been prisoners, that ever reached the English, unless by making their escape; except two officers, who were detained, contrary to the capitulation, at Coimbatam. These were loaded with presents, and liberated, when the capital was in danger, in order to pave the way for future overtures.—They were fortunate indeed!

as hostages,* for the due performance of this treaty.

After remaining some days in the camp, we understood that the two men, whom I have before mentioned, were on the north side of Seringapatam, with General Abercrombie, who commanded the Bombay army. We repaired thither, and met them as brothers, sup-

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* Abdul Kallick the eldest, and Masza ud Dieu the youngest; the former very dark, the latter very fair and personable. The eldest, I well remember, while at Seringapatam, once ordered one of our lads, whose name was Kelly, to be bound with his hands behind him; this being done, he was hoisted by a pulley a yard from the ground, and in this condition severely beaten. And all this, because Kelly would not sing and dance in the English manner, for him to laugh at. We felt for poor Kelly at the time, but it was the subject of mirth among us afterwards. He was a curiously grown Irish lad, and could not talk much English; and as to dancing and singing, he knew as much about it as a Hottentot.

posed to be lost; and after a mutual detail of our various trials, and the manner of making our escapes, respectively, &c. &c. we parted, they for Bombay, and ourselves for Madras.

Here were a number of half-starved Europeans, all deserters, who were taken in the pittah or suburbs, when our troops followed Tippoo's over the Cavery.* These were all in irons, and

* This was a most tremendous night! Tippoo had taken a position on the north bank of the river, with his front and his flanks covered by a bound hedge, and a number of ravines, swamps, and water-courses; he was likewise fortified by a chain of redoubts, full of cannon, as well as by the artillery of the fort, and of the works of the island: under those circumstances, strong as they were, Lord Cornwallis was determined to attack him. Accordingly, he marshalled his own army in three divisions, omitting to employ the allies in this affair, as he thought them unequal to the arduous task, and leaving his cannon behind him in the camp, with two battalions to guard them. As soon as it was

what his lordship did with them I know not; but suppose, as mercy was

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dark, the division pushed on, under the command of this humane and brave general; but the guides, either through ignorance or design, leading the division commanded by General Meadows astray, he did not participate in the glories of the night, so called, at which I have no doubt he was much mortified, as he was very courageous. The night was dark, and the allies were on the alert, expecting the total overthrow of the English. Tens of thousands were spectators, both from the Mahratta and the Nizam's army; and they all supposed it impossible for any troops in the world to stand against the heavy and tremendous fire that was opened in every direction; but such was the case. The morning shewed the allies that the English had not only defeated them in their camp, taking seventy pieces of cannon, &c. but were absolutely possessed of most part of the suburbs of the island. This looked like magic to the allies, and highly aggrandized the arms of the English in their estimation. It must have been an awfully sublime scene; and it is my humble opinion, that had Lord Cornwallis been repulsed, not an individual of the allies would have been found in their position by twelve o'clock the next day.

a leading feature in his character, that he did not put them to death. We were now ordered to Madras, having an escort of Sepoys for our safety; and his lordship understanding our wishes were to go to England, very humanely gratified them. With our escort, we quitted the camp at Seringapatam for Madras, which place we reached in twenty-one days.

On the morning when we heard the surf, our joy was inexpressible, not having seen the sea for ten years. A few days after our arrival, we embarked as passengers on board of the Honourable Company's ship Dutton, East Indiaman; and after encountering some tremendous gales off the Cape of Good Hope, which few ships escape in those latitudes, we, through divine Providence, safely reached the Downs in 1793.

CHAP. VII.

State of Seringapatam prior to the Siege—Fortifications—Natural Advantages—Military Force—Besieged and Captured by the British—Death of Tippoo—General Carnage—Riches found in the City.—Many of Tippoo's Jewels yet concealed—Progressive State of the Arts in his Dominions.

THE British troops entered the territories of Tippoo, from Yacotta, on the 5th of March, and encamped before Seringapatam on the 5th of April; and it may be considered as a fortunate circumstance, that the sultan neither employed his whole force against us, nor thought of turning his attention to the Bombay army. The numerous attendants of the Nizam's forces, as well as those of the European corps;

the immense quantity of public stores and provisions; the long train of ordnance; with about 40,000 Bengarries, formed altogether such a host, as not to admit being covered by our army; so that if Tippoo had employed his powers with the military skill which he was supposed to possess, he might, without hazarding an engagement by desultory skirmishes, distant cannonades, and other hostile movements, have so harassed our infantry, and weakened our cavalry, that a great part of the baggage, stores, and ammunition, would probably have fallen into his hands, and the army have been greatly impeded in its march to the place of its destination. And, moreover, as the rainy season was approaching, there is reason to believe, that had the sultan employed his power with equal judg-

ment and activity, the immediate object of the campaign might have been defeated. It had, indeed, been for some time reported, that Tippoo was become subject to fits of mental derangement; and the whole of his conduct seems to justify that opinion. He had dismissed from his councils all his faithful friends, who had served him long, and had served him well, and had called into his service, men of little experience or capacity, who won his favour by flattering his caprices, and practising an unresisting submission to his will. The former had always discouraged their master's disposition to connect himself with France, as pregnant with the mischief it has since produced; while the latter promoted it, for no other reason, but because it flattered his hopes of gratifying his resentment

against the British power in India. His treasures were immense, and his army was not only numerous, but in a high state of discipline and equipment. However, by not employing the one, and misemploying the other, his fall was precipitated, and his country conquered in a manner, and with a rapidity of good fortune, which greatly exceeded the most sanguine expectations.

This powerful empire, which had been shaken and diminished by the military skill and political sagacity of the Marquis Cornwallis, is now razed, as it were, to its foundations, and the house of Hyder Ali degraded from the usurped power which it had maintained during a period of forty years. The importance of this event, to the power and commerce of Great Britain in the

East, is not within the reach of ordinary calculation.

From every appearance of the improving state of Seringapatam, the cultivation of the country, the number of its inhabitants, and the advancing progress of its military establishment, that capital would, in a short time, have been impregnable; and the power of Tippoo Saib would have been at least equal to the combined strength of the European settlements in India. The sultan certainly was not inactive; but his activity was misguided, and became inadequate to its object. He destroyed the villages, and laid waste the country in front of the army; but not sufficiently spreading the tracks of devastation, his purpose for distressing our army was defeated, as General Harris, by a slight deviation from the

common road, reached his destination at the time he wished, and without any material interruption.

From the late plentiful rains, and the peculiar construction of the tanks, which could not be entirely drained, there was no deficiency of water; and though the usual attempts had been made to poison it, by steeping in it the bruised branches of the milkhedge tree, no very noxious effect was produced; for though no prohibition, or bodies of guards, could prevent the men or cattle from slaking their thirst at these tanks, very little inconvenience was felt; very few of the people suffered any disorder whatever from the poisonous impregnation. The sickness that at any time appeared among the troops, arose from the heat of the sun, extreme fatigue, or irregular refreshment; and espe-

cially among the common men, from an intemperate use of every species of vegetable they could find, and particularly that of the sugarcane.

The action which Tippoo risked on the 27th of March, at Malwilly, with the right wing of our army, was as ill conceived, as it was ill conducted; because, having the choice of his ground, he ought either to have received us with his whole force, or to have avoided every kind of regular engagement. By turning to the left the second day after this action, instead of crossing the river, as Tippoo appeared to have expected, we gained a flourishing and highly cultivated country, which, most fortunately, his destroying hand had not touched. After a march of about fourteen miles, we reached the Cavery, without the least molestation, and took

possession of the large fort Soocilly, which was full of cattle, grain, and forage; and commanded an excellent ford, which the army, with all its equipment, passed in one day, without any loss or interruption, even to the vicinity of his capital.

General Harris had the choice of his route, so that he was enabled to sit down before it with all his resources for the siege undiminished. The evil most to be dreaded on this service, and a tremendous evil it is, was famine; and this the sultan had means of producing, if he had been wise enough in employing them. The whole of our draft and carriage bullocks, public and private, died, and rice had risen three rupees the pound, the day the city was stormed. It was not till nine days after that event, that the detachments, command-

ed by Read and Brown, could arrive with supplies, notwithstanding all the cavalry, and a brigade of native infantry, had been detached, under the command of General Floyd, to favour their junction; so that if we had not succeeded in our attempt, the consequence would have been fatal to the army; and that we were not repulsed, was owing to the incomparable conduct and intrepidity of the troops, as well as the judicious means employed to support and protect their extraordinary efforts.

It is not necessary to enter into the detailed progress of the siege. It may, however, be proper to remark, that notwithstanding the errors committed by the sultan, in defence of the place, nothing less than the vast combined army in our service, could have carried the enterprise into effect. The extent

of post we were obliged to occupy on both sides of the river, required the whole force of the coast and Bombay armies; besides the troops necessary to dislodge the numerous swarms of the enemy. As the service was entrusted chiefly to European officers, who were appointed to the various branches of it, not by selection, but in regular succession, opportunities were given, as they were universally employed, to display the skill and military superiority of the British character.

The act of storming was a most animating and unrivalled picture of valour. The columns of grenadiers dashed across the river at noon-day, despising the difficulties of the passage, to mount the breach, which could be practicable alone to their irresistible force and bravery. The impetuous spirit which

led them on in the face of a very heavy and continued fire of cannon and musketry, the rapidity with which they ascended the ladders, and the daring courage which drove the affrighted enemy from their walls, soon combined to place the British colours on them. The enfilading batteries of the Bombay advanced post were of signal service, as they deterred numbers from disputing the breach, who might otherwise have kept up a galling fire upon it. The hour of attack was also fortunate, it being one at noon, when numbers of the besieged had retired to take refreshment, though enough still remained to have repelled less daring assailants. The sultan, who had hitherto commanded his troops, was also engaged in another quarter; but on hearing the alarm, he hastened back, when finding

our grenadiers had entered the breach, and seeing his people falling all around him, he made for a sally-port, where, amidst a crowd of fugitives, he was overtaken and slain.

Since our arrival in England, we have ofttimes heard him extolled for a brave prince; but those who have thus stated, we presume, know little of him. That he was a coward, we could easily demonstrate, and that he was a tyrant, equal, if not superior, to a Domitian, a Caligula, a Nero, or even Nabis the tyrant of Sparta, is a fact of which we had ocular demonstration. For vigorously defending his country against any power on earth, I give him credit, and for using every exertion in expelling all its invaders; but this should have been done without those unheard-of cruelties, which were interwoven in his

very nature;—but he is gone, and I proceed.

It is not yet known by whose hand the tyrant of the East was laid low; and it is supposed, that the jewels which he always wore about his person, and which became the property of some fortunate soldier, whoever he might be, that was his conqueror, are too precious to be hastily acknowledged.

The following particulars were related by Bejeb Saib, one of the sidars who came with the hostage princes to Lord Cornwallis. "He constantly wore a ruby ring, which was esteemed by him as the most valuable in his treasury; his turban also was always adorned with a diamond of great value; and a pearl rosary was continually ornamental of his person. The pearls of which it consisted were of uncommon

size and beauty; they had been the collection of many years, and were the pride of his dress. Whenever he could purchase a pearl of extraordinary size, he never omitted the opportunity, making it supply, on his rosary, the place of another inferior in form and beauty. Neither of these precious articles has appeared since the sultan's death. His body was found late in the evening, beneath a heap of others, mingled together in one promiscuous slaughter; it had been shot in the temples, and was otherwise wounded, as appeared, by a bayonet. After it had been properly identified, it was delivered to the survivors of his family, and interred in the sepulchre of his father, Hyder Ali, with the solemnities and ceremonials belonging to his exalted rank and station.

It is not among the customs of European nations to war with the dead, otherwise the remains of such a tyrant, whose peculiar aversion towards, and inveterate cruelty exercised on, the English, whenever they were so unfortunate as to become subject to his tyranny, might have been treated with indignity. The rooted and barbarous antipathy which he manifested against his prisoners in a former war, seems to have accompanied him to the last.

About twenty unhappy stragglers from our army had fallen into his hands in the course of our march, among whom was a little drummer-boy of the Scotch brigade; all these he ordered to be put to death. Even his small motley band of French auxiliaries, execrate his memory as a most cruel tyrant, and represent, with bitter imprecations,

the ignominy and hardships to which he subjected them.

The carnage, on this occasion, is very much to be lamented, though it was much less than might have been expected in a large city entered by storm, and filled with people, whose opposition was continued from the streets and from their houses. Here was a spot where no incentive was wanting to gratify lust, rapine, and revenge! but it should be for ever remembered, to the honour of the general officer who conducted the assault, and to others who seconded his humane efforts, that the effusion of blood was very soon restrained, and under circumstances of provocation, which sufficiently proved, if proof were wanting, the humanity of the British character; nor in the course of that plunder, which

the laws of war allow in certain cases, to the conquerors, was any defenceless inhabitant killed, or any woman treated with wanton brutality.

That the French republicans obtained the quarter which they so ill deserved, must be imputed to accident, rather than any disposition in their favour. This party had shut themselves up with the defenders of the palace, till the first burst of violence had passed, and mixing with them, partook of the mercy by which they were preserved. Their appearance, in every respect, was extremely mean, though their commander, for there was an elderly man among them who bore some sort of commission, displayed somewhat of the military veteran in his aspect.

The two sons of Tippoo, who had been hostages at Madras, comported

themselves well, submitting with resignation to their fate. They were ignorant of their father's death until the body was found, it being believed by them, as it was suspected by us, that he had made his escape. Tippoo was so infatuated, as not to entertain an idea of the catastrophe which befell him. He considered himself in a state of perfect security in his capital, where he retained all his family and treasures, instead of sending them off to remote strong-holds, where they might at least have been safe from a victorious enemy. His principal people, and all the inhabitants, possessed the same confidence, so that no preparations had been made either for concealment or flight. The plunder of the city was consequently very great; and many of the soldiers, both native and European, possessed

themselves of very precious effects in gold and jewels. Considerable fortunes are also supposed to have been made by persons of higher rank, by way of purchase. The houses of the chief sidars, as well as of the merchants and skioffs, were completely gutted; while the women, alarmed for their personal safety, emptied their coffers, and brought forth whatever jewels they possessed.

Fortunately, however, for the army in general, the palace was secured, and all the riches it contained reserved for the army at large, as captured property. They were immense, and consisted of jewels, gold and silver, plate, rich stuffs, and various other articles of great price and rarity. The quantity of money yet discovered, though great in itself, is by no means what ought to have

been expected from the known extent of Tippoo's revenue and expenditure. Many lacks of specie, it is supposed, are not yet found, and it is equally probable that they will never be discovered. This enormous mass of wealth appeared to be arranged without taste or judgment. All the parts of this extensive building, except the Zenana and the state durbar, were appropriated to its reception. A succession of quadrangles, with their ranges of storehouses and galleries, were filled with the articles which were the least susceptible of injury. The jewels were kept in large dark rooms, strongly secured behind one of the durbars, and were deposited in coffers. In the same manner were preserved the gold and plate, both solid and in filigree, of which last manufacture there was an almost endless

variety of most beautiful articles. The jewelry was set in gold, in the form of bracelets, rings, necklaces, aigrettes, plumes, &c. &c. An upper, and very long apartment, contained the silver plate, solid and filigree, of all dimensions and fashions. In one of the galleries were two elephants, of this metal; there were also many pieces of massive silver plate, richly inlaid with gold and jewels. The greater part of this treasure must have been the plunder of the unhappy Mysore families, and of many other inferior rajahs, which Tippoo and his father had amassed, after the extermination of their respective possessors. Two of the most capital articles were, however, of his own purchase, and were deposited in two small rooms on each side of the hall of audience. The one was a throne,

estimated at a lack of pagodas; and the other an howdar, of equal value.* His repositories of curious and costly fire-arms and swords were equally astonishing, and some of the latter were most magnificently adorned with gold and jewels. The greater part of these have been presents, and several of them were of English manufacture. The palanquins of state were four; but those which were presented to him by Lord Cornwallis for his two sons, appeared never to have been unpacked. There were also several door-posts of ivory, of exquisite workmanship.

To this succession of treasure, may

* A pagoda varies in value in different parts and times, from seven shillings and five pence, to eight shillings and five pence. A rupee also varies from one shilling and four pence, to two shillings and three pence, sterling. A lack is one hundred thousand.

be added, various extensive workhouses, filled with the richest furniture and most costly carpets. In short, there was every thing that power could command, or money could purchase, in this stupendous collection. Telescopes of every size, spectacles for every sight, with looking-glasses and pictures in unbounded profusion; while, of china and glass ware, there was sufficient to form a large mercantile magazine. But amidst the confusion that appeared in the arrangement, there was an unexpected degree of regularity; the whole being accurately registered, and every article bearing its corresponding label. Tippoo, whose desire of hoarding was insatiable, passed the greatest part of his leisure hours in reviewing this various and splendid assemblage of his riches. Nor is this all: Tippoo, with

his tyrannic nature, blended the love of literature, and was possessed of a very large and curious library. The volumes were kept in chests, each having a separate wrapper, so that they were in excellent preservation. Some of those that have been examined, were very richly adorned, and beautifully illuminated, in the manner of the Roman missals. This library, which contains many thousand volumes, will, it is presumed, be presented by the army to the English nation; if so, it will form the finest, most curious, and valuable collection of Oriental learning and history, that has ever been introduced into Europe.

The collection of military stores rivalled the arsenal of Madras; the cannon, mounted on the works, were very numerous; and the quantity of ordnance and musket ammunition expend-

ed, must have been very great, from the constant heavy fire which was maintained, and which, from the variety of its bearings, could never be silenced. The gunpowder, to the manufacture of which great attention appears to have been paid, was better than ours; and some of their shot was thrown from their walls considerably within our lines, which were at the distance of two miles. All his brass six-pounders, which were fifty-one in number, were said to be English; the others were in general cast in his own foundry, and curiously ornamented. One brass forty-two-pounder, and one brass six-inch howitzer, with a great number of his iron ordnance, were of English manufacture: and it was said he did not succeed so well in casting iron as brass ordnance. Tippoo had established pow-

der mills on the European construction; but as they were without the walls, and on the side of our approaches, he had destroyed them. There was a paper mill also within the fort, on a large scale. His stores of grain surpassed all credibility. In the stables were found only a few fine horses and brood mares, his cavalry being at that time in the field. The body of the fort appeared as large as Tritchinopoly, but its defences and outworks were vastly more extensive; and as the most laborious additions were continually making to it, there is little doubt, when its insular situation is considered, that it would, in a short time, have been rendered impregnable. Its population was very great; and the mosque, which was built while we were in Seringapatam in the years 1787 and 1788, was a magnificent

structure. This edifice was ornamented by a deserter from Bombay, whose name was Elliot. He was a man of considerable talents, but I suppose he met his fate in the general catastrophe. But, amidst all their splendour, neither the ancient Mysore palace, nor the pagodas, are on a grand scale. The ruins of the Pettah, or citadel, form a very striking spectacle; they occupy more ground than the fort and black town of Madras, including the vacant space, and cover the greatest part of the island. It was closely built, and in regular streets, but nothing remains except the walls of the houses. It is, however, a pleasing reflection, that its former inhabitants are returning by degrees to rebuild their ruined dwellings; the deserted villages will also be shortly reinhabited; and there is every reason

to believe, that notwithstanding its hostile invasions, Seringapatam will soon be seen to flourish in a renewed state of cultivation.

One material mischief will not, however, be easily remedied; this is, the draining off the water in the Mootter-tellua lake, which was kept up by natural streams, and by means of sluices a large tract of country was watered. It is about twelve miles from Seringapatam; and the army was encamped near its bed. Its ordinary depth was about 40 feet, and Tippoo had employed a number of men for several weeks, under his own inspection, to make a breach in the mound, which is really tremendous, being about 100 feet deep, and much more in width and thickness.

Of the two gardens, the Laul-bog

and Dowlah-baugh, the former has been already described; the latter, being close under the walls of the fort, was not in our possession in the last war. It contains a large, handsome, and ancient mansion, but has neither temple nor mausoleum; it formed the head-quarters of the commander-in-chief. On one of the buildings was represented, but, as may be supposed, in a miserable style of painting, the defeat of Colonel Bailey, which the painter exhibited with every exaggeration that might flatter the vanity of the conqueror. The Laul-baugh was employed as an hospital.

The houses of Patam are very spacious, and well constructed; but the interior embellishments are without variety, yet as gaudy as splendid colours can make them. The streets are like

those of Tanjour, but contain a larger proportion of houses of two stories. The situation of the ancient capital of the Mysore dominions must have been originally Chaser, on account of its strength, as the district is naturally barren. It is indebted for its population and fertility to the most persevering industry, in procuring the means of watering it. The water-courses from the river, as well as the distant lakes and tanks, in all directions, are stupendous works. The principal erections are finished with stone, having bridges at convenient intervals.

The chief, Sirdar Kumeradeen Cawn, surrendered himself at our post on the fourth day of the capture, as did Tippoo's eldest legitimate son, and Hyder Saib, his eldest illegitimate son, who commanded a separate army. All the

circar horses were shortly after delivered up; and there has been selected a sufficient number of them to complete the king's regiment of dragoons, serving on the coast, as well as the Company's establishment of native cavalry. Upwards of 2000 of an inferior order were transferred to the Nizam. The draft and carriage bullocks, with the camels and elephants, surrendered at the same time, so that our army was immediately furnished with every necessary equipment. To crown the whole, the dispersed and affrighted natives gradually returned in great numbers to their former situations.

As a proof of the mental derangement of the late sultan, which his subjects in general confirm, he neglected for several months past the war department of his affairs, and particularly that

branch of it which related to the maintenance of those animals which are so essentially necessary to it. This was an object to which his father Hyder, throughout his reign, and himself, till very recently, had paid the most unremitted attention: but of late, his bullocks, his horses, and his elephants, were almost starved; and the people who had the care of them were in long arrears of pay. This too was at a time when he must have expected to be attacked by us; for he actually invited an army of French auxiliaries, who, being destitute of every kind of equipment, must necessarily have been provided by himself with the means to render their services effectual.

J. SCURRY.

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER.

Repairs from the Downs to London—Receives all his Arrears of Pay—Indiscreet Expenditure—Personal Appearance and Manners—Visits his Friends—Affecting Interview—Mental Improvement—Superintends a Grocery Concern in Plymouth—Marries—Commences Business for himself—Forms other Engagements—Wreck of the Dutton East Indiaman—Employed as a Diver on the occasion—Repairs to Wales—Sails in a Privateer—Revisits Wales—Dangerous Passage—Returns to Plymouth—Manages some Mines—Illness and Death—Conclusion.

THUS far the narrative of this unfortunate adventurer has been written by himself; and, with some trifling variations, the account has been given in his own language, not only with respect to his personal sufferings, and the fate of others, but as his details relate to the

capture and riches of Seringapatam. The remaining particulars have been collected from the statements of his widow and son, and partially from detached papers.

On landing at the Downs, Mr. Scurry and his companions repaired to London, where the singularity of their dress, their manners, and their colour, so far excited attention, that they were followed by troops of boys, as objects of curiosity. On appealing to the proper authorities, and giving proof of their identity, all arrears of pay, from the time of their capture to their return, were instantly paid. Mr. Scurry also obtained a pension of £7 per annum, which was continued for several years. It was afterwards augmented to £18. which he retained through life. Being thus amply supplied with cash, their pro-

digality increased with their resources, and, like true British sailors, a considerable portion was squandered away in thoughtless extravagance. On one occasion, Mr. Scurry attended a sale, and laid out about forty pounds in articles, of which he scarcely knew either the quantity, the use, or the names. His lot was, however, packed up altogether, and forwarded to Devonshire, to which place he also after some time repaired.

From his long confinement in India, and his involuntary conformity to Asiatic manners, he had nearly forgotten the customs of his early years, and the delicate refinements of his native land. To the wearing of English clothes he felt the greatest aversion; nor could he even sit, except according to the manner to which he had been so long accus-

tomed. Of a knife and fork he had almost lost the use, nor could he eat any thing with comfort, only in the style to which stern necessity had compelled him to submit. His language was broken and confused, having lost nearly all its vernacular idiom. His body was disfigured with scars; and his skin was likewise so deeply tinged with the heat of the climate in which he had so long resided, and by the rays of the sun, to which he had been so much exposed, that it was only a few shades removed from black. It so nearly resembled the swarthy complexion of the negroes, that he might have passed through Africa without being at all noted for the singularity of his colour. These combined peculiarities exposed him to several inconveniences, and brought upon him many an eager

gaze, and many a curious inquiry, and pointed observation.

On leaving London, he travelled by coach to Exeter, to visit his friends, but stopping at an inn on the road to dine, instead of conforming to the customs of his fellow-travellers, he followed those which he had been obliged to adopt in Asia, to the no small amusement of his companions, and the equal astonishment of the people belonging to the house. His bones, offal, and rejected food, without ceremony were thrown on the floor, no regard being paid either to company or carpets; and when admonished of the impropriety of his conduct, his inattention to the hints which were given, and perseverance in domestic irregularity, only served to confirm those who witnessed his singularities, that he was either deranged, or some

foreigner totally unacquainted with the refinements of civilized life. A British sailor, however, in any disguise, if flowing with money, can easily make his peace with a waiter at an inn, and metamorphose a frowning aspect into a smiling countenance.

On reaching Exeter, he learned that his mother, and sister Dannan with her husband, were living at Porlock. Thither he repaired; and, that he might reach this place in a style suited to his purse, he entered it in a chaise drawn by four horses, and drove immediately to their door. Surprised at this equipage, his sister first appeared, of whom, on putting his head out of the window, he inquired if Mrs. Scurry lived there, and was within? He was answered, that this was the place of her abode, but that just then she was not within.

He then requested that she might be called, but could scarcely restrain his impatience during the absence of the messenger. On his mother's arrival, he inquired whether she had not a son in India? She replied, that she once had a son there, but not having heard from him for many years, she concluded he was dead. This latter was a point which he seemed to doubt, but his mother was not to be dissuaded from a belief which she had so long indulged.

While this conversation was carrying on, his sister, Mrs. Dannan, who was listening with much attention, and viewing this stranger with eagerness, imagined that she could discover, amidst the scars of conflict, the effects of an equinoctial sun, and the furrows of distress, some remnants of features that had once been familiar. Full of this

persuasion, she hailed him as her long-lost brother, nor did he keep her in any tedious suspense. His mother, however, was not so easily convinced. She had concluded that her son was dead, and the appearance of this stranger was not calculated to remove the unfavourable impression. But the chaise and four being dismissed, his mother's unbelief gave way, and mutual recognition and joy succeeded to the astonishment that had been excited.

Having, during his long absence, and the scenes of distress through which he was called to pass, lost nearly all his European acquirements, Mr. Scurry turned his attention to learning for nearly two years, improving himself in writing and arithmetic, under the tuition of his brother-in-law at Porlock. During this period, he made such profi-

ciency, as qualified him to engage in mercantile employment, in such departments as might probably present themselves.

On quitting his brother-in-law, he repaired to Plymouth, and entered into an engagement with Mr. Andrew Kinsman, a wholesale grocer of that place, and superintended his business. With this gentleman, and another named Harvey, he continued from about 1795 until 1799. He then took a house in Frankfort Place, and commenced business as a grocer for himself. In the following year he married, since which time he has had eight children, of whom one son and one daughter only survive.

It is somewhat remarkable, that while he was engaged with Mr. Kinsman, the Dutton, in which he had returned from India some years before, was

wrecked near Plymouth garrison, and sunk. The hull, lying under water, was purchased by Mr. Kinsman and a Mr. Andrew Snow; and as Mr. Scurry was an excellent swimmer, and perhaps at that time the best diver in England, he offered his services to assist them in endeavouring to rescue all that they could find from the wreck, which lay about three fathoms under water. After much hesitation, they consented that he should make a trial. A day was accordingly appointed, when, amidst numbers of spectators, he succeeded in hooking some pigs of ballast, and part of her timbers, thus at once gratifying their eager curiosity, and the anxious expectations of his employers. This attempt was made a few months after she sunk. Finding, however, after several ineffectual efforts, that nothing of con-

siderable value was likely to be obtained, the remains were sold, about two years afterwards, to a Mr. Joseph, a rich Jew, for ten pounds. As soon as this transfer took place, Mr. Scurry received a polite note from the new purchaser, requesting him to try once more to rescue something from the sunken ship. With this request he complied; but on his descent, he found that the Dutton was now five fathoms beneath the surface of the water. In this attempt he succeeded in bringing up some of her copper sheathing, and some timber; but the former was so corroded, and the latter so much decayed, that no encouragement was held out to perseverance. Her guns were by this time sunk in the sand; and as nothing promised to reward their exertions, all further efforts were abandoned.

Mr. Scurry continued his business as a grocer on his own account, from 1799 until 1804, when, on an application being made by Messrs. Fuge and Langmead, spirit merchants, of Plymouth, to travel for their house, he surrendered the management of his own concerns to his wife, still taking orders for goods as he prosecuted his journeys. In this situation he continued from 1804 to 1812, when, on discovering some irregularities, he quitted their employment, and formed an engagement with a Mr. Slade, of Plymouth, under whom he went to Swansea to manage a colliery. Shortly afterwards, Mr. Slade having fitted out a privateer to cruise in the Bay of Biscay, and knowing Mr. Scurry to be both expert and enterprising in maritime affairs, he sent for him to go out as steward, and to keep a watchful

eye over the concerns of the vessel. Accordingly, in the year 1813, he repaired again to Plymouth, and sailed in the Cerberus privateer, commanded by Captain Tregotheth. He continued in this vessel about four months, during which time they took one prize, for his share of which he received £18. Returning from their cruise, they put into Fowey, in Cornwall, where he received a letter from Mr. Slade, stating that his son, James Scurry, was then on the point of death, and having a particular desire to see his father, requested his immediate attendance for a day or two. In consequence of this letter, he hastened to Plymouth, where he arrived on the 12th of April, 1813; and his son died on the 24th. Scarcely had he left the vessel, before the captain, without receiving any orders, again put to sea,

and, on the day after he left Fowey, the Cerberus was captured by a French privateer, and carried to France.

In 1814, he again went to Swansea, under Mr. Slade, and on their voyage from Ilfracombe to Wales the vessel was nearly lost. In the midst of their distress, the captain grew dispirited, and the panic was communicated to the passengers and the men. In this emergency, Mr. Scurry's native energies were all called into action, and such was the confidence which his example and precepts inspired, that they were roused from their lethargy, and, by unremitting exertions, succeeded in reaching the port. Having, in the course of his journeys, discovered some clay of a very superior quality, he visited Worcester, London, and some other places, with a design to procure a market, but

the supplies of clay being more abundant than the demand for porcelain, his efforts proved unsuccessful. Early in 1815, he again returned to Plymouth, and once more engaged himself with Messrs. Langmeads, Mr. Fuge being now no longer connected with the concern. Here he continued until the death of Mr. John Langmead, when, being in want of a situation, he repaired to London early in 1816, and engaged himself at a coal wharf, where he continued about three years.

Having obtained some knowledge of mining, he was several times sent into his native county by the adventurers, to inspect various works in which they had become speculators. During these journeys he was occasionally exposed to the inclemencies of winter, which in all probability sapped the foundation

of a strong constitution, that had so long sustained the rigour of the torrid zone. In the autumn of 1822, being on a journey to Devonshire, to superintend a mine in the neighbourhood of Buckfastleigh, he took a severe cold, by which he was laid up at Exeter. This was followed by an inflammation, and this was succeeded by a mortification, of which he died, aged 57, at the house of his sister Dannan, whose husband being a port-gauger of that city, had removed thither some years before. He was buried at St. Thomas's, near Exeter, December 14th, 1822.

In justice to the memory of Mr. Scurry, it ought to be stated, that for a considerable time prior to his death, his mind had received serious impressions, which his subsequent conduct proved to be both deep and lasting.

This circumstance gives an additional weight to the truth of his narrative—a narrative that might be deemed incredible from the miseries which it records, were it not supported by strong internal evidence, and corroborated by numerous testimonies drawn from the same unhappy source. To the eye of cool and dispassionate reflection, the world presents a spectacle of devastation and horror. Innumerable miseries arise from physical causes, and the present disordered state of things; and these, unhappily, are at once augmented and eclipsed by national hostilities, and the contentions of ambition for empire in fields of blood.

War is a monster, of which the portrait cannot be drawn in miniature. The shocks which the roaring of its cannon occasions in Europe, are felt in

the interior of India; and its visits to the kingdoms of Asia are more terrible to the inhabitants than the irruptions of the lions and tigers which roam through their forests, or couch in their jungles. Its inhumanities and massacres extend from the cottage to the throne, and involve in one common destruction the despot and the slave. Of the desolations which it occasions, enough is known to excite the abhorrence and execration of mankind; but that innumerable instances of its barbarities lie concealed in impenetrable obscurity, we may reasonably infer from the mournful cases that are accidentally brought to light. The death of the victim seals up, in perpetual silence, the history of his sufferings; and even those tales of horror that are rescued from oblivion, can do little more than

extort the sigh of commiseration, and urge humanity to shed her tears. The biography of James Scurry is an instance of this description. It merits preservation by its simplicity, and cannot fail to recompense the reader by the interesting facts which it records. It is one of those tales which presents its claims alike to justice and compassion; and the writer of these paragraphs feels much gratification in having made this effort to transmit the memorial of his sufferings to posterity.

THE END

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